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HAWKS OF THE SUN

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Silver breast piece (*trapelakucha*)—decorative heirloom jewelry with amulets, worn by Mapuche women

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Photo by Allan C. Shane

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Mapuche

[facing p. iii]

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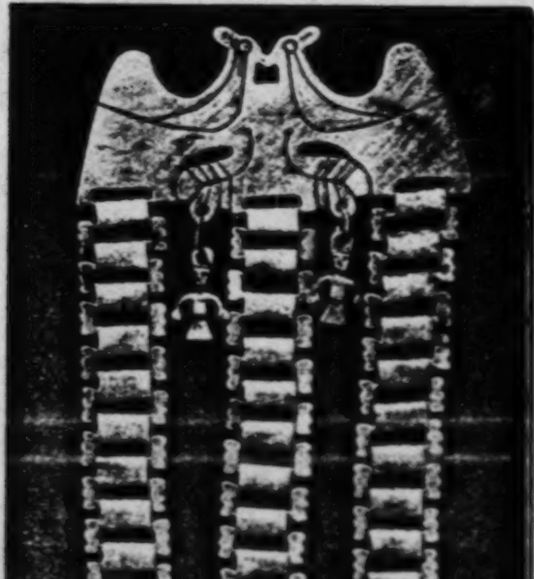

[769]
←

"What has
happened to you
on your trip
through the sky?
Have you become
hawks of the sun?"

Mapuche invocation
of ancestral spirits

[Frontispiece]

L. C. FARON

HAWKS OF THE SUN

Mapuche Morality and Its Ritual Attributes

UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH PRESS

[Title Page]

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[P.V]

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A religion is a unified system of beliefs and practices relative to sacred things, that is to say, things set apart and forbidden—beliefs and practices which unite into one single moral community called a Church, all those who adhere to them.

DURKHEIM

For primitive man the universe as a whole is a moral or social order governed not by what we call natural law but rather by what we must call moral or ritual law.

RADCLIFFE-BROWN

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INTRODUCTION

THE Mapuche occupy an area in southern central Chile 131
between the Pacific Ocean and the Andes Mountains, 161
an area roughly the size of the state of Delaware, and
have an estimated population of just under 250,000. The region 361
in which they live is called *Araucania* or *La Frontera* and, in [101]
terms of settlement, is composed of about 2,200 small Mapuche
reservations, numerous Chilean farms, and a few towns and
cities. While the reservations form large blocks in this area,
they are broken into sectors by Chilean holdings, as indicated
on the line map, the area of the most dense Mapuche
occupation.

The Mapuche constitute one of the largest functioning 17
indigenous societies in South America and are quite distinctive 648
culturally and socially from Chileans. Their history has revolved [101]
around warfare, land usurpation, and, more recently, the
dissolution of many reservation communities under pressure
exerted by Chilean colonists. For centuries the Mapuche have
lost territory to Chilean settlers. They were defeated in the
Rebellion of 1880–82, and their politico-military organization
was undermined. They no longer roam over a vast territory,
raiding whites and other Mapuche. They have been immobilized
on small reservations, and are dependent on field agriculture. In 177
spite of these socially disruptive forces, the Mapuche have 182
maintained a great measure of cultural and social integrity.
These forces have not caused traditional Mapuche life to
disappear; rather their effect has been to weld Mapuche society
into a more complex structure than existed in prereservation
times.

Having withstood more than four hundred years of persistent 17
efforts at colonization and missionization, the Mapuche, understandably,
have experienced cultural and social change. They
have undergone continual readaptation and reintegration during
their four centuries of contact with whites. They now form
a vigorous and, because of a growing political awareness, a

17 sometimes vociferous component of the Chilean population—a
17 regional, ethnically-conscious minority. Since 1884 the Chilean
government has introduced a series of changes in reservation law
648 to the end of encouraging the Mapuche to give up their traditional way of life and become integrated into Chilean regional society as small farmers and rural laborers. Its efforts have been to little or no avail. In December 1960, the Chilean Congress passed a law designed to abolish the reservation system and allow for a period of grace during which the Mapuche may take stock of their new legal situation and make appropriate adjustments to the changed legal framework under which they must live. It remains to be seen what the eventual effects of this change in legal status may be. If some concession is made to Mapuche technological backwardness, if they are not strangled by tax laws and credit structures and do not lose their land through liens, forced sales, etc., it is reasonable to assume that they will endure as a functioning indigenous society for some decades to come, until their gradual amalgamation with Chilean regional society.

105 Meanwhile, because of the reservation system of 1884, they
177 are virtually roped off from Chileans acquisitive of their land.
178 *Their social and cultural systems are rooted in an agricultural*
economy. They constitute a nation of small-scale and techno-
[648] logically anachronous dirt farmers. Their stabilization on small
[433] family-based reservations for a number of generations has seen
[241] the emergence of socially significant patrilineages, the weft of
their social fabric being a distinctive system of lineage-based
[613] matrilateral alliance and ritual congregationalism which together constitute the sustaining fibre of Mapuche morality.

186 This book attempts to plumb what is so often called "cultural
consciousness" or "cultural nationalism." There is an undeni-
182 able ethnic and cultural integrity observable among the Ma-
[121] puche. The Mapuche are distinctive, strange. Their strangeness is most apparent in their public and private ritual. On further inspection, this strangeness comes through in a hundred different ways related to supernatural beliefs and associated activities. It is best understood at the local level of analysis, the reservation level of Mapuche society. Ritual performances—*awn, nillatun, machitun, kalkutun* (see below)—bind together

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 4]

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SOUTHERN CENTRAL CHILE
Cautín Province

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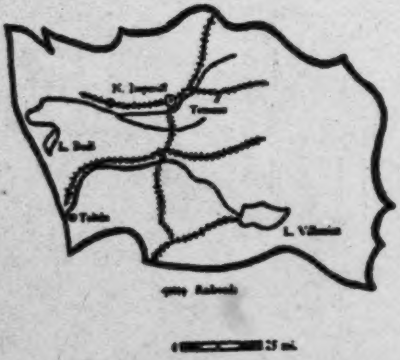
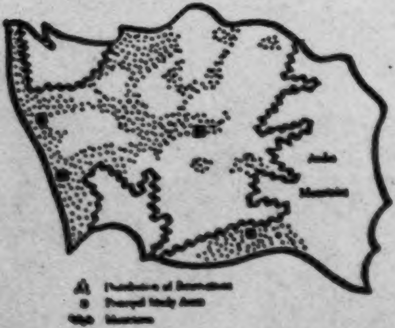

R. Imperial
Temuco
L. Budi
Toltén
L. Villarrica
Railroads
0 25 mi.


Andes
Mountains
Distribution of Reservations
Principal Study Areas
Mountains

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186 182 sets of local groups to form an ethnic bastion which continues to stem the thrusts of an antagonistic Chilean society. The Mapuche, in their own words, are "another race." They have their own gods, their own notions of right and wrong, their peculiar symbolism. If they abide by the rules of their society, they are well on their way to insuring their eternal place among the hawks of the sun.

II

769 771 779 The most dramatic aspects of social action involved in the central concept of Mapuche religious morality revolves around the belief that ancestors are sacred and influential spirits whose existence regulates and depends upon human moral conduct. Among the several visible forms assumed by ancestors are "hawks of the sun" (*antüpaiñamko*), a designation used by the Mapuche and employed here to symbolize all ancestral spirits. Hawks of the sun, then, are beneficent ancestor spirits who intervene in the affairs of the living, who are responsible to the living, and, at the same time, who govern human conduct. [775] Mapuche die and become hawks of the sun. In this simple belief is expressed the notion of continuity between the living and the dead on which hinge concepts and practices of a ritual nature that order and sanction human relationships.

769 825 "Have you become hawks of the sun?" (*antüpaiñamko ñetuin*). This is a rhetorical question addressed to ancestor spirits. It varies occasionally by the substitution of other birds or insects which are favorably regarded by the Mapuche: "Have you become butterflies?" "Have you become blueflies?" These are questions of the same order as the first, although sometimes used when more specificity is desired in categorizing members of [776] the spirit world. All symbolize the transformation of the recently- and the long-departed ancestral spirits into certain visible creatures of Mapucheland.

769 77 825 Although the dead may assume a diversity of forms in making their presence known to the living, ancestral beatitude is reflected in the assumption of a good form—by noble birds of good omen, by the gorgeous butterfly, by the sonorous and glittering bluefly. In a like manner, evil and suffering are associated with and are symbolized by blackness and terrible,

769 77 826

blood-sucking creatures of the night. Thus is the duality of good and evil expressed.

77 769 577 [121] [783]

The problem of how the concept of evil originated among the Mapuche or how it might have changed during the course of the historical era appears insoluble, at least in the framework of a structural-functional analysis of morality; in any case, it is not germane to the thesis of this monograph. One thing is quite clear, however. Sin is laid at the feet of the living who fail to make proper propitiation of ancestral spirits and who break the canons of morality. Sin is the catalyst which activates the forces of evil. The eternal struggle between good and evil, involving all mankind (i. e. all Mapuche), engages the ethereal ancestors and their descendants and is reenacted daily in Mapucheland.

77 577

The struggle between good and evil forces is recounted and analyzed around the seemingly eternal hearthfire. It is dramatized during the periodic assemblages of the ritual congregation. It is the acknowledged be-all and end-all of the thought and activity of shamans (*machi*) and sorcerer-witches (*kalku*). It is signalized by the cry of nightbirds, by the wavering luminosity of *anchimallen*, and by a glimpse of the black-shrouded and saber-toothed *witranalwe*—contaminated, blood-thirsty spirits which roam the earth after dark in search of victims. The supernatural world encompasses that of the living. One is instructed to heed the line between good and evil, and one is shown where it lies. Transgression of this line is fostered by *kalku*, the embodiment of evil. The good life (health in morality) is guaranteed, at least on balance, by the good offices of the *machi* and the ritual priest (*ñillatufe*).

77 769

The Mapuche world revolves on the moral axis between the living and the dead. The spirits of the dead either enjoy the halcyon shadow world where they exist in tranquility or, if improperly cared for and displeased, return to lurk among the living. The aloofness of the hawk suggests ancestral satisfaction. The nocturnal meanderings of various ugly nonhuman forms and distorted wraiths suggest ancestral discomfiture and dissatisfaction—a state exploited by evil *kalku* who inhabit the world of man. Propitiation of ancestral spirits wards off specific hazards and mitigates general supernatural danger. There are pitfalls, but there are also ways of avoiding them. The Mapuche

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77 world is fraught with supernatural peril. All serious illness, for 769 example, is supernaturally induced. The good man is aware of [753] the general threat and is able to circumvent its specific manifestations ritually. There is nothing haphazard about the eternal struggle between the forces of good and evil. Strategy is institutionalized and weapons are of the same calibre in both camps. This makes for an interminable struggle.

775 The dead visit the living. They are seen in dreams, in lifelike form, or as birds or other creatures of good or bad omen. They [787] are also seen in waking moments, but only as distorted images of their former selves, or in nonhuman guise. They are ever- [782] watchful, ready to do good if properly summoned but, if [754] unpropitiated, they may return to earth and fall victim to [769] sorcerers, becoming contaminated and evil. Ancestors must always be treated with utmost respect and care. Uncontaminated spirits of the dead are fundamentally good, once they have made a ritually perfect departure from Mapucheland; but they are capable of great evil if, because of some failure in the funeral rite, they are forced to linger around the grave or near the house. [754] It is the most recently departed spirit which is particularly susceptible to the machinations of *kalku*. Its transition from the world of the living to the haven of the dead is the central concern of the funeral congregation, the major theme of the burial services, and the rationale for drunken communion.

The dead are a part of and yet apart from the world of the living. They comprise a special and sacred segment of Mapuche society. They must be approached reverentially, in an impeccable ritual manner, by the correct persons on the proper ritual [769] occasions. Ritual appeal to ancestral spirits covers a range of [796] activity, from that of the great agricultural fertility rite (*ngillatun*) to the simple personal offering of a handful of maize or [782] wheat flour on a small fire outside the family dwelling. The approach varies with the situation and the specific motivation of the suppliants.

769 In analyzing the relationship between the living and the dead, 602 it is always necessary to keep in mind that there are one's own direct ancestors, collateral ancestors, affinally related ancestors, nonrelatives, and the very important category of generalized Mapuche ancestors, the latter forming a lower echelon in the

hierarchy of ethnic deities. All spirits of the dead are generally 769
watchful over human activities, but all may not be equally 602
alerted to lend supernatural aid to merely anyone. The type or closeness of the kinship bond between ancestor and descendant is of great importance in this regard. Another important feature of the relationship is the ritual ability which is brought into play on these occasions. The nature of the kinship bond and the degree of ritual ability are variables which modify the sets of statuses and roles adhering to different propitiatory offices and which condition ritual activities and beliefs. In turn, these variables affect the traditional sets of rights and obligations which are ideally binding on the dead and the living alike. Depending, then, on the specific needs of the living and the dead, we must consider a range of ceremonial activity and a range of ritual suitability within the broader context of Mapuche morality.

No ancestral spirit is inherently immune from contamination 769
by a *kalku*. Therefore, any ancestral spirit might become 754
captured and made to do harm but, conversely, not all the uncontaminated spirits will necessarily do good. And, once captured by a *kalku*, a spirit may do harm to anyone, having been converted into a force of generalized evil. In addition, evil is cumulative in the sense that contaminated spirits are continually recruited and remain eternally malevolent. Something of a corollary of this belief is the notion that "sorcerers never die"—that is, their spirits never leave earth or cease doing evil, being inhabited by other people with evil (wesa) tendencies. Under these conditions, the ranks of evil continue to increase.

On critical occasions ordinary men and women lack the ritual 769
skills requisite to deal successfully with ancestral spirits. Therefore, 796
in time of crisis resort is made to one or another kind of
ritual specialist. The fields of ritual performance are several. 796
They are analytically separable, but there is a good deal of overlap among them. At this point, I will merely indicate some areas of ritual overlap and mention certain instances of multiple
ritual roles. The shaman, for example, characteristically engages 756
in what might be called a private séance for the purpose of 792
curing clients; but shamans also perform in public fertility
ceremonies as well as in the initiation or revalidation rites 755
(Ñeikurewen) connected with their own "society."

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000 (*ñekurewen*) connected with their own "society." The ritual
793 priest (*ñillatufe*) performs on behalf of the congregation during
792 the large, public *ñillatun*, usually in the dual role of chief of a
769 reservation community and head of the dominant lineage thereon; but a smaller family group may also hold a *ñillatun*
613 (which I regard as a prereservation practice) in which prayers
[622] are offered to the pantheon and to ancestral spirits by a household leader who, in most cases, is head of a sublineage or a subordinate lineage, but who, in any case, is called *ñillatufe*.
796 Implicit in these variations in ritual speciality and the nature of
182 the congregation are interesting problems of social structure and function. While the Mapuche have made, and are apparently
769 willing to continue making accommodations in their approach to problems involving their ancestral spirits and the *dramatis personae* of the supernatural world in general, they nevertheless visualize a rather well-defined set of piacular, supplicatory, and curative rites, each designed to fit a fairly specific situation and need.

III

121 The overall problem addressed in this monograph is the examination of certain Mapuche ritual expressions of morality in order to indicate as precisely as possible how, and to what extent, these beliefs and practices form an integral part of the cultural and social system. Therefore both relationship structures and the ideological or cultural framework in which these exist demand attention. A special and separate attempt to discover a fundamental relation between the structure of symbolic values and the social structure will be made in Chapter Four.

121 My position with regard to the structure of Mapuche morality
114 has been influenced especially by the writings of Durkheim, van Gennep, Hertz, Mauss, Radcliffe-Brown, Evans-Pritchard, and their intellectual heirs, men who have concerned themselves with moral systems and their ritual expression as problems to be handled in the context of institutionalized social relationships. On the other hand, it is diametrically opposed to the position espoused, for example, by Herskovits, who wrote:

> *Social institutions may be broadly interpreted to include economic and political orientations as well as those based on*

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> 121 114 *kinship and free association. But only with difficulty can they be extended to include such aspects of human behavior as religion . . . to say nothing of the unspoken sanctions that underlie all conduct* (1952:29).

This view of social systems has been demolished by modern social anthropology. Indeed, it was not the position of early twentieth-century Mapuche specialists, such as Guevara, Latcham, and Edwards (see Appendix).

Durkheim must be cited for his clear enunciation that religious phenomena are social phenomena and may be studied solely in terms of their interconnections as a system of beliefs and practices in relation to other structures of social action. It is 121 with this general concept in mind that Mapuche religious morality is herein discussed. It is my hope that in this context the Mapuche system of morality may be examined most profitably, that there will be greater understanding of Mapuche concepts and associated activities in themselves, and that this study will serve as a useful unit of comparison in the investigation of morality and ritual among other peoples.

796 755 754 In the struggle between good and evil there are three aspects of ritual behavior which may be singled out for separate consideration. These may be classed as community rites, private rites, and secret rites keyed, respectively, by priest and congregation, shaman, and sorcerer. Public rites are held periodically for the common good; shamanistic rites sometimes publically for the common good, but usually privately for individual ends; sorcery always secretively, and for the purpose of enhancing the position of one person or group over that of another. It is by no means always clear where the line between "evil ends" and "culturally condoned ends" is to be drawn with respect to sorcery. But there can be no general disagreement that, on the whole, shamanism is on the side of good (although shamans are sometimes feared) and sorcery on the side of evil.

754 182 This does not mean that sorcery is dysfunctional, or that sorcery creates tensions within the social structure. In certain instances the disruptive force of sorcery is apparent; in others, or perhaps from a wider angle of vision, it may be argued that sorcery—and, by extension, the concept of evil—is functional,

754 182 [578] insofar as it helps to maintain the structure of Mapuche society. In any case, sorcery and the practice of evil, even the concern with its existence, is as much the result as the cause of tensions in the social structure.

121 796 For certain needs only public ritual suffices. For other needs, equally good from a moral standpoint, public ritual is either inefficacious or unfeasible. Once the functional aspects of *ñillatun*, for example, and *machitun* (shamanistic performance) are analyzed, there is little point in attempting to draw a hard and fast line between the religious and the magical beliefs and activities involved in either ceremony. It is important, however, to discern differences in the groups regularly involved. Likewise, with reference to social groups, it is more rewarding to examine similarities and differences in *ñillatun* and *awn* (funeral rites) on the one hand, and *machitun* and *kalkutun* (sorcerer's séance) on the other, and then to analyze the relationships between these two sets of ritual activity, than to dichotomize the essentially unitary field of magico-religious belief and action.

IV

121 182 577 602 779 What constitutes Mapuche morality? All institutionalized behavior is in concordance with the moral order which permeates society, aberrant behavior being defined in relation to departure from this code. Patterned kinship relationships are moral relationships, in this sense, and social interaction between nonkin is as well conditioned by the general order of moral values. A single moral system, therefore, defines proper and improper relationships throughout Mapucheland, among Mapuche themselves, and between Mapuche and outsiders (*winka*). This moral code is in turn anchored to the relationship which exists between the living and the dead, the rights and duties which exist between them in the context of Mapuche religious lore. Morality has supernatural sanction. It is the supernatural sanctions of the moral system expressed in life relationships with which this study is most concerned—specifically those human relationships which may be described as ritual or ceremonial.

121 The total moral order is most easily understood and most conveniently discussed with respect to an examination of its

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analytically separable segments. As mentioned, I concentrate on the most dramatic of these. This selectivity, however, is by no means wholly arbitrary. Rather, it is a result of analysis, for the areas of morality and its ritual attributes herein discussed appear as those of greatest concern to the Mapuche themselves. I do not claim to have discovered this, as my reference to other works indicates, but I will say that the overwhelming importance of the rituals I discuss for the structure of Mapuche morality became apparent to me only during my analysis of the largely secular institutions of Mapuche society. 121

Mapuche morality is a kin-based, systematic body of concepts and associated behavior, in spite of certain seeming inconsistencies and discrepancies. How does this moral system, then, support or impinge upon various segments of a larger kingroup, political unit, ritual congregation? In what ways do kinship, politics, ritual action, and religious belief cause groups to precipitate out from total Mapuche society? How are these groups identified? To what extent do they overlap and under what conditions? And, lastly, what might be considered certain pervasive features of behavior or belief which permit a general moral system to operate effectively throughout Mapucheland? 577 182 602

The overall impression is that Mapuche morality is a religious morality involving a concept of the opposition of the forces of good and evil. Morality cannot be understood apart from supernatural sanctions and the nature of the continuum between the living and the dead—both authentic and mythical ancestor-gods—in the framework of lineal and congregational (multilineal) units of population. All traditional rights and duties are supernaturally sanctioned, and conflicts, arising mostly from contacts with non-Mapuche, are handled with reference to these traditional moral sanctions. 577 779

Customary law (admapu) is a fundamentally supernatural concept, sanctioned by supernatural forces emanating from the very ancestors considered to have devised, supplemented, and adhered to the rules of Mapuche society. "We do these things because our ancestors did them and because our fathers and grandfathers told us that they are right." These words are the gist of all answers to the anthropologist's questions about belief 671 577 183

671 and customary activity. They reveal the general reason why
577 personal belongings are interred with the dead; why the *ñillatufe*
183 lays hold of the palpitating heart of the sacrificed sheep, bites into it, and passes it on to the next in line; why clay or wooden vessels instead of porcelain or enamelware are used in traditional rites; why *chicha* rather than wine should be drunk or poured in libation on certain ceremonial occasions; why preferred marriage is matrilateral; why kinship terms are extended under certain circumstances to Mapuche who are nonkin; why a *kalku* should be executed by the community, then dismembered and burned;
[182] why killing a white man is inoffensive to the gods. A detailed consideration of these and other beliefs and actions will show why the single most important integrative force operative in Mapuche society is the moral order which defines institutionalized behavior.

121 If, then, Mapuche morality may be characterized legitimately as a religious morality, just what is the specific nature of the relationship between morality, the supernatural environment, and other aspects of the social structure? What, for example, does Mapuche ritual celebrate, and on what occasions? What is the connection between public ritual, shamanistic performances, and the sorcerer's black art? A partial answer to these questions could be obtained from a cultural analysis of Mapuche values. But a sociological interpretation, stressing social action in the framework of its context, would seem more fruitful, more complete. In any case, that is the course followed here. In this monograph, emphasis is on the sociology of Mapuche morality, although adequate descriptions of Mapuche culture are provided to give content to the social relationships and to make possible a structural analysis of symbolic values.

577 Mapuche morality involves rights and duties enjoyed and
182 imposed by virtue of membership both in total Mapuche society and in particular segments thereof. The moral force which makes
[671] conformity to Mapuche customary law desirable as well as compelling—a truly coercive or regenerative force—is continually found as the binding element in public ritual expression and in the total supernatural ambient of the priest, shaman, sorcerer, and layman alike.

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V

I would now like to indicate very briefly just what aspects of the moral system are dealt with in the chapters which follow, and why I have selected these for discussion. 128 121

Chapter One is designed to acquaint the reader with the general outline of Mapuche social structure. It summarizes much of my first monograph on the Mapuche, but is mainly concerned with underlining the moral implications of certain economic, political, residential, marital, and cultural arrangements in Mapuche society. These moral implications are then elaborated and further examined in detail in subsequent chapters, especially with reference to the major ritual activities and the congregations involved.

In Chapter Two the most important supernatural beliefs are defined and arranged in a manner which lends significant order to the supernatural ambient. This chapter also contains examples of how persons are confronted by supernatural forces and how they react to them. I feel that the ethnographic accounts, colored as they are, provide necessary substantive material for the reader to follow the more abstract sections contained in chapters devoted mainly to sociological inquiry.

Chapter Three contains the only well-rounded account of Mapuche ritual to appear in print. While I feel that this is justification enough for its inclusion in this monograph, I might mention that without this holistic approach to Mapuche ideology it would be difficult to present a social analysis of the moral order. Without this cultural data, the bare bones of social relationships appear somewhat inadequate to an understanding of the moral fiber and the relationship between the value structure and the social structure.

Chapter Four attempts to bind together into a structural-functional interpretation all the threads of the moral system presented in previous chapters. As the chapter heading indicates, consideration is with social groupings operating within the structure of Mapuche morality, the composition of these groupings, the relationships expressed, and related considerations. The funeral ceremony (*awn*) and the fertility rite (*nillatun*) are

128 121 analyzed in detail with regard to their structure and function in Mapuche society. Part of this analysis involves inquiry into the status and role sets of shaman and priest, and lends itself to a review of the historical record for the purpose of understanding the kinds of changes which have occurred both in belief and practice of a ritual nature. These changes are considered as social rather than cultural phenomena, and emphasis is placed on the relationship structures inherent in the reservation system.

Chapter Five delves into sorcery and shamanism and the continual struggle between the forces of good and evil. It contains much descriptive data but is essentially analytic in intent. It examines organizational aspects inhering in shamanistic activities and compares these to the sisterhood of sorcerers. The chapter concludes with an examination of shamanism and *sorcery in reference to institutional solidarity at the local level of* Mapuche society.

Chapter Six carries this kind of inquiry a step further. It examines the extent to which ritual beliefs and activities serve to consolidate the entire reservation-dwelling Mapuche population into an ethnic entity vis-à-vis Chilean society. Its main purpose is to present a total structural analysis of the system of symbolic values and institutionalized relationships to indicate significant correspondence between the ideological system and salient features of social structure.

The final chapter, Seven, discusses the concepts of constancy and change in a critical, though very selective, analysis of the impact of Western society on the Mapuche.

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One: OUTLINE OF MAPUCHE SOCIAL STRUCTURE

THIS chapter provides background necessary to an under- 121
standing of the place and nature of religious beliefs and 128
ritual practices in Mapuche society. It is designed to relate as closely as possible to Mapuche ritual salient features of other analytically separable structures, such as the economy, the systems of kinship and marriage, patrilineal and patrilocal organization, the family, the community, and the interlocking segments of the political system.

The Agrarian Economy of the Indigenous Zone

Some mention of Mapuche farming and animal raising is 121
appropriate if we are to obtain a clear picture of reservation life 199
and the sets of rights and obligations which exist among certain 433
segments of any reservation community in the economic sphere 648
of social action. It is important to note at the outset that the reservation system itself protects the Mapuche from direct competition with Chilean farmers, in great measure, and permits the Mapuche to live as an ethnically and socially distinct entity in southern central Chile.

Central Chile has some of the best wheat land in the country, 433
but Mapuche technology does not make full use of this resource. 311
In general the reservations are overgrazed and overcrowded, and [161]
the population has tended to increase to the limits of the natural
resources under the present system of exploitation. Restrictions [648]
on acquisition of new land inherent in the reservation system
impose a considerable burden on the Mapuche and, on some
reservations, constitute a seemingly insoluble problem. The [796]
greatest religious ceremonies of the Mapuche are directed [794]
toward mitigating their present plight and have come to involve larger and larger ritual congregations—a matter of great social significance.

Gardening and desultory horticulture, which were consistent 241
with small and shifting social aggregates during the centuries of 172
178

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

241 122 178 Mapuche-white hostilities, have been replaced by more intensive field farming which came about with the introduction of draft oxen and wooden and steel plows, only after the imposition of the reservation system and the stabilization or immobilization of residential groups within rigidly defined reservation limits. 241 462 Field agriculture is man's work, for the most part, and involves the cultivation of wheat, barley, oats, potatoes, and a few other crops. Garden vegetables continue to be raised by women in plots adjacent to households.

241 Mapuche agriculture, as it has taken form during the reservation period, may be characterized as a three-field system of planting and fallow combined with haphazard crop rotation. Much of the beneficial effect of rotation is lost, however, because the water supply is uncontrolled (and to that extent unpredictable), fertilizer is seldom or improperly used, and the succession of crops is inconsistent with the needs of the soil. Furthermore, Mapuche tend to sow very poor quality seed, and this in improper proportion to the area of land employed. Add to these considerations the fact that fallow fields are consistently overgrazed by sheep and leached by heavy rains and topsoil blown away by summer winds, and the basic technological [434] difficulties of Mapuche farming emerge. Although all Mapuche strive to raise crops for cash sale, profits are often nil and most food is consumed by the growers. The extension of credit to 426 643 177 Mapuche (at prohibitively high rates of interest) by Chilean businessmen permits them to survive from one harvest to the next. But this is a system by which the Mapuche continue to lose their scant crop reserves. It is a system presently forced upon them during the several leanest months of the year, those preceding the harvest. The Chilean government, partly because of a lack of funds and partly because of a lack of interest (or because of different interests), has proved unable to ameliorate this condition. The extension of credit by the government, through the Caja de Crédito, for example, is nominal and wholly inadequate to the needs of Mapuche farmers.

Labor Organization

467 622 178 464 The organization of labor has undergone significant change in the last few decades. Historical sources indicate that chiefs

(*lonko*) and wealthy men (*ülmen*) were important persons in 476
the regulation of communal labor in prereservation and early 622
reservation times, leaders who could call their people together to 178
participate in any and all cooperative ventures. It is sufficiently 464
clear from these accounts that *ülmen* and persons designated
as *lonko* or *caciques* (chief) by the Spaniards and Chileans—
those responsible for labor organization—were elders of the
residential kingroup, even though the actual composition of the
group is by no means clear. As the reservation system took hold, 476
and as localized lineages became of great social significance, the 622
lineage head or, if there were several lineages in residence on a 613
single reservation, the head of the dominant lineage played a 178
leading role in the organization of labor. This elder was (and 464
still is) both *lonko* (lineage head) and chief (political leader of
patrilineal lineages), a lineal descendant of the original chief in
whose name the reservation community is registered with the
Chilean government.

Within the last generation the role of the chief in labor organization has changed significantly, reflecting a general shift in Mapuche economic orientation. The chief now serves as symbolic work leader in the relatively few cases in which reservation-wide labor groups continue to perform. The chief's symbolic status is contingent upon his position as head of the dominant lineage (but in this respect is an essentially political role) and his role as ritual leader of the reservation community. Today, the chief is less a labor organizer than a symbol of organized labor.

Although large organized labor groups form with less fre- 178
quency than they seem to have done a generation ago, when 464
they do form they are of great importance in reaffirming solidary 476
economic relationships among the membership. In the light of
new economic orientations, in which the notions of private
enterprise, ownership, and family-based labor are stressed, it is
not implausible to view the occasional large-scale work parties as
even more important than formerly for the revalidation of moral
responsibility and ethnic identity among the Mapuche. Insofar [622
as this is true, the chief's symbolic leadership in labor organiza- 182]
tion, representing as it does the will of the reservation community, may likewise be viewed as a significant integrative force.

476 It is not necessary to elaborate this point here. Suffice it that the
464 economic role of the chief retains considerable importance—
622 symbolic importance—and that this supplements and is in turn
182 bolstered by his roles of political and ritual leader of the reservation community.

121 In order to understand the chief's role in labor organization
we might take a look at alternative work patterns and, eventually,
622 consider the structure of both the patrilineage and the
476 patrilineage-based reservation community. In my opinion, the
464 changes which have taken place over the past few generations, and which could be outlined in some detail, are of less importance to this consideration than the contemporary resultant conditions. Therefore my discussion concentrates on contemporary synchronic analysis.

It should be mentioned that lineage groups have increased in

613 It should be mentioned that lineage groups have increased in
178 size of membership and have a socially significant depth of from four to six generations. Members of the entire lineage, especially if it is a large one, seldom engage in economic activities jointly, but interhousehold cooperation continues and usually involves
[476] members of a segment of the localized lineage. In these cases
[464] work parties are organized by the sublineage elder, called caciquillo (Spanish) or lonko of such-and-such line.

592 Today, the family household is emerging as the basic economic
178 unit on all reservations, and its members are tied individually to persons of other households, or to Chilean farmers and businessmen, rather than collectively as members of a larger group (i.e. lineage or sublineage) to some other
433 economic grouping. Many of the rights and obligations involved
178 in economic activity on the reservations have been removed from the purely kinship to the mainly contractual plane, but a substantial residue of traditional moral responsibility remains to distinguish Mapuche reservation economy from that of Chilean society. Much of this receives ritual expression in public
433 ceremonies. There are many other aspects of traditional economic morality which, though observable, are less dramatically or ostentatiously expressed. It is to some of the former that I will
[128] turn my attention in later chapters. Here, however, I would like to consider some of the most common productive arrangements existing in Mapucheland, largely in their secular aspects, for the

433 128 purpose of providing the reader with ethnographic examples of the way in which labor is organized today. I discuss briefly *vuelta mano*, the *mediero* or half-share system, and *mingaco*.

476 571 602 *Vuelta mano* signifies an exchange of labor between persons and is one of the more important work arrangements known to the Mapuche. Two or more men who are kin, most often patrilineal kinsmen, enter into this relationship. While kinship is the basic ingredient of the arrangement, the *sine qua non* of trust, it is always overlaid by friendship and personal respect, by no means purely mechanical by-products of kinship. But in all cases, *vuelta mano* agreements are heavily imbued with mutual responsibilities of the partners set in a framework of kinship obligations. Quite simply, one man agrees to assist another with the understanding that he in turn will receive assistance in comparable labor on demand. Sometimes this agreement is solemnized by one of several symbolic acts, such as eating from the same bowl, after which the men are *misha*. *Vuelta mano* arrangements, reaffirmed seasonally, sometimes engage the participants during their entire adult life and, by extension, even tend to perpetuate themselves between the same families as new generations mature.

476 427 571 The *mediero* system, working on shares, is of great importance to the Mapuche farmer, amounting to a means of allocating goods and services according to personal needs and abilities. Again, two persons are usually involved. The participants pool resources to their mutual advantage, sharing a harvest according to a rough calculation of the respective expenditure. One man provides land, as a rule, and the other supplies his labor, draft animals, and seed. On this basis each partner would likely receive an equal share of the harvest.

A sharecropping arrangement is usually initiated by those who have less land than they wish to farm and who seek out a man who has more than he needs or is able to use. Perhaps the most economically advantageous arrangement for the impoverished Mapuche farmer is to supply land to a Chilean who has working capital, or who has an abundance of animals and insufficient land on which to pasture them. In one case the Mapuche receives half of the harvest for providing land; in the other he receives half of the newborn animals. While the 000

476 While the Mapuche enter into half-share agreements among themselves,
427 the most profitable and the most important aspect seems to be
648 that involving Mapuche with Chileans. This is felt to pose some threat to Mapuche land rights, but the immediate advantages are generally believed to outweigh this possible and certainly long-range danger.

476 *Mingaco* is the cooperative labor venture already alluded to in
464 discussing community-wide work parties and is organized for
602 certain planting and harvesting operations, clearing new land, building houses, canal digging, and a few other large-scale
[613] projects. *Mingaco* is organized around a core of males of the dominant patrilineage of a reservation and headed by a lineage elder who is chief. People from other reservations are sometimes invited to participate. It is a festive form of labor, in the course of which the organizer provides better than ordinary food and drink for the participants. In all cases, the majority of participants comprises close relatives of the host group along with some longtime residents of what I have called the ritual congregation—those persons who regularly assist in the great fertility rite, *ñillatun*. With respect to this feature alone we may view the multiple roles of the chief as political, economic, ritual, and, as far as the host group is concerned, lineage functionary.

Mingaco, however, is a word used by the Mapuche to describe cooperative labor regardless of the size of the participating group, and in most instances *mingaco* are conducted by less than the total population of a reservation. As we shall see, it is usually members of segments of the localized lineage that engage in this sort of labor. It is sometimes only an academic question whether or not this represents *mingaco* or *vuelta mano*, since it often involves but few households, the members of which seem to feel strong obligation to reciprocate labor and fiesta.

The Concept of Ownership

423
[428] Mapuche recognize patrilineal inheritance of usufructuary rights to reservation land, although these may be contested on
[648] occasion. At the time of registration, title to reservation land was vested in the chief, ideally the elder of the largest kingroup in residence and, wherever possible, the Chilean government attempted to apportion the land among the reservation com-

munity according to their number and the estimated produc- 423
tivity of the soil. Recent historical literature indicates that the 648
immediate postwar period was one of plenty for the Mapuche. This, apparently, is the actual "golden age" to which contemporary Mapuche refer, although they tend to place this time of abundance far back in the era of warfare and internal strife. Since the inauguration of the reservation system there have arisen a number of complicating factors with respect to land usage, economic orientation, inheritance rights, and related considerations. The picture has certainly changed during the past several generations. It is, however, the present conditions that are of importance to this study.

One of these complicating factors is the continued increase in 167
Mapuche population and the pressure on land resources this has 177
engendered in most parts of the indigenous zone. Many 464
Mapuche have left the reservations to seek employment in Chilean and Argentine society. Most of these are young people, who are siphoned off annually from the growing reservation population. They become dislocated from the workaday world of the reservation, and they lose interest in the details of Mapuche problems of adjustment to Chilean social forces. But they maintain strong emotional bonds with those on the reservations and they comprise a distinctive Mapuche precipitate in Chilean towns and cities. While their reappearance on the reservations is infrequent and sporadic, and few of them take up reservation life, they remain a responsive diaspora, many of them only marginally adjusted to Chilean ways. They frequently arrange their visits home to coincide with one or another ritual performance in which they enjoy participating. But, for most of these *émigrés*, the full significance of Mapuche ritual has become attenuated with time, and the moral implications lose importance as awe for one's ancestors becomes diluted to mere respect.

Under Chilean law, these *émigrés* are entitled to participate 167
in the inheritance of reservation land, especially if the reserva- 423
tion is scheduled for *división*, that is, legal division into severalty 428
holdings and dissolution as a corporate reservation community.
Sometimes, and usually depending on the closeness of the [602]
contacts they have maintained with their kinsmen on the reservation, *émigrés* are able to exercise such rights. More often

167 they are not able to exercise them, or make no legal attempt to
423 do so. This situation exists because the residential kingroup
429 opposes their claims for purely economic reasons, and because of
602 moral considerations which place émigrés outside Mapuche
society—from the Mapuche point of view.

167 In a sense, these émigrés are considered to have deceased
when their defection from traditional life appears permanent.
423 They have abandoned ancestral land; they have forsaken ances-
829 tral spirits. What will indeed become of them? How should one regard their often mixed (biologically) offspring? These thoughts appear to be of little importance to most of those who have departed from traditional reservation life, but they are among the rhetorical questions raised by the priests (*ñillatufe*) at the *ñillatun* ceremonies and are among those subjects especially bemoaned during funeral rites. For the
[769] ultimate threat posed by the exodus of young men is to their forebears' spirits, which depend on them for celestial tranquility, the result of sustained and proper propitiation—and this threat devolves upon those who have not abandoned reservation life. Thus, the strong feeling about ownership by the actual residents
c who are lineal descendants of the original reservation chief or who trace descent to the founder of a subordinate lineage given asylum during the postwar decades by the original chief works against and at the same time is supported by the claims of émigrés. This conflict is a real but as yet not a pressing problem facing the reservation Mapuche.

178 Nor is the problem of *división* as immediate and weighty as it
423 once seemed to be. According to government figures, there are almost as many legally constituted reservations today as there were a generation or so ago. The trend toward petition for division of land into severalties has effectively ceased. Again, this is partly because of a growing economic and political awareness, partly a result of a reenergized or reoriented Mapuche morality.

613
Unilineal and Residential Kinship Groups

182 Patrilineal descent and patrilocal residence are basic integra-
[611] tive principles in Mapuche society. They result in the most
[591] closely related males living together and working harmoniously

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

in clearly defined groups based on kinship. Their operation may 613
be analyzed at the level of the family, the lineage, and the 182
reservation community. In the many books written about the [114]
Mapuche, there has been a good deal of confusion in regard to the structure and function of such groups, and their relation to the Mapuche system of morality and its ritual expression has not at all been systematically examined and, therefore, is only imperfectly understood.

Confusion seems to have resulted from three analytical or 114
theoretical biases shared by practically all anthropologists and dilettanti who have written about the Mapuche during this and the latter part of the last century. All seem to have failed to perceive the essential difference between unilineal and residential principles of social integration, some having emphasized lineal over residential principles and others having stressed membership in a residential group without considering vital principles of unilineal descent. Secondly, there seems to have been a generally imprecise translation of Mapuche concepts into Spanish and English, reflecting certain sociological biases of the investigators. And lastly, there is a preponderance of interest shown in pseudohistorical reconstruction to the near exclusion of analysis of Mapuche society as it was at different periods investigated by these authors.

In prefacing my discussion of Mapuche rules of descent and 613
residence, I may say briefly that the patrilineage is concerned [627]
with matters of property and status inheritance, the regulation and arrangement of lawful marriage, and the celebration of life crises, among other things, and that it was the main group involved in blood revenge (operating nowadays as the focal group in vengeance-by-witchcraft) and the payment of blood-
money. Common residence serves to integrate all members of 613
the reservation and, in a regional sense, members of several 591
reservations, including in-married women, mainly in matters of 618
economic cooperation, politics, fertility rites, recreative activities, and the like. Common residence paves the way for the integration of unrelated lineages and all allied members attached to the cores of these lineages.

The Structure of the Patrilineage Lineal descent is figured 613
through males, membership in the patrilineage being deter- 611
mined by birth.

613 mined by birth. Lineages are shallow, seldom attaining a socially significant depth of more than six generations, but they have become very broad at their base—at least the dominant lineages. The breadth is largely a result of population expansion and localization brought about through the inauguration of the reservation system at the end of the last century. One of its features is that there are a large number of segmental lineages organized a single generation below that of the founder of the maximal lineage. These branches, which I will discuss more fully in the section on sublineation, tend to remain viable groups and seem less susceptible to fission than in the past. While the restrictions on physical mobility imposed by the reservation system are partly responsible for this condition, they alone could not account for it. For a fuller explanation of this phenomenon we must consider Mapuche cultural values, but I defer this discussion to later chapters.

It may be said that in all cases descent is traced back to socially important ancestors. In general, unimportant ancestors are forgotten, misplaced genealogically, or their characteristics fused with other ancestors to form composite personages. [618] The two most important ancestors of any residential kingroup are the founder of the maximal lineage, who has great moral and ritual significance as a link between his heirs and the gods, and his successor, the original chief of the reservation community, who has both ritual and economic significance for the living members.

613 182 In one sense, it may be argued that the shallow generational depth reflects the empirical limit of genealogical significance. Tracing back to the original chief is sufficient to validate land-use rights; tracing through this chief to the founder of the maximal lineage establishes one's mystical tie with Mapuche gods. In the context of the lineage system, therefore, we find the political, economic, and religious bastions of Mapuche society.

613 178 177 621 For analytic purposes, distinctions should be made between different levels of lineage organization. This is necessary for the understanding of many facets of contemporary society. There is ample reason to believe that lineages, as corporate groups, are largely a product of reservation life and peaceful conditions. While the Mapuche have throughout their history been struc-

tured along lines of paternal descent, there is simply no evidence 613
to show that paternally related males cohered over long enough 178
periods of time to have formed sizeable residential groups 177
during the era of continual skirmishing against Spaniards and 621
Chileans. However, immobilization on reservations caused local membership to increase. It became of vital importance for this membership to be able to trace descent to the original founder, or the chief of the reservation, in order to validate individual rights to reservation land. This need coincides with the actual depth of Mapuche lineages. It is likely, however, that the social importance of such depth might be dependent on multiple factors, the one mentioned merely being the most obvious and most easily understood. The political and juridical implications of this will be discussed later. Here I merely note that there is some possibility that societies structured along the lines of Mapuche society—acephalous, segmentary social systems—contain lineages which tend toward segmentation at a shallow generational depth, in the absence of some constraining factor. If this is plausible, I would say further that the reservation system in Mapucheland causes the generational depth of lineages to stretch to the utmost, and that this depth could never have been so great in the past nor could it have engendered the formation of such large localized patrilineal groups.

Be that as it may, it is presently necessary to think of 613
Mapuche lineages as structured at several generational levels. In sociological terms, the most important of these is the maximal lineage, including all members of both sexes who trace descent to the lineage founder. Of course descent is traced through dead males of the lineage, and they too are included in the maximal lineage. Even some deceased females of the lineage have a position of social significance, though relatively limited. The next most important level is that of the localized lineage, composed of all living members in residence on the reservation. The localized lineage may be thought of as organized at a generational level below that of the original chief, provided living members of this generation reside in the community. Next are the sublineages, branches of the localized lineage which are organized at a depth of from two to three generations below that of the founder of the maximal lineage. Another

613 consideration is the lineage group, comprising all living members of the maximal lineage regardless of residence (i.e. including out-married women and males who have moved off the reservation).

Diagram I will serve as a model of a maximal patrilineage. It depicts three living generations, excluding children who would comprise a fourth. It is not meant to portray ethnographic reality. It is a diagram of a two-branch maximal lineage, an oversimplification which I shall discuss later. Still, for the purposes of generational continuity and tracing descent to the category of kin characterized as "ancestor-god," this model is applicable to any localized segment of a maximal lineage on any Mapuche reservation.

613
602 It is immediately apparent that strong unilineal emphasis has been achieved by the omission of collateral kinsmen in the fifth and ascending generations, only the most socially significant ancestors being remembered. The brothers in the fourth generation are, in many cases, half brothers and in some instances it is clear that they are only cousins. Therefore, a degree of genealogical manipulation has occurred somewhere along the line. This is not too clearly seen in the model. In an ethnographically accurate diagram of a maximal lineage—that is, one in which generations one through four include all male residents of the reservation—there would be several rather than merely two branches. In this case, there would be a larger number of fourth generation males whose relationship to each other would not be too clear to living members. The tendency would be to label these males "brothers," the Mapuche term *peñi* classifying real brothers and cousins together. Where this occurs, genealogical manipulation, always for the purpose of forming closer kinship alignments, has affected the fourth or fifth generations, and the resultant condition has been passed down the line to the living members, most of whom accept it as truth.

591 *Rules of Residence.* The Mapuche are traditionally patrilocal, but some flexibility is observable in this rule. It is possible that this flexibility is the result of features inherent in the reservation system. In certain cases, this seems obvious. What follows are the rules and the variations which exist today among the reservation Mapuche.

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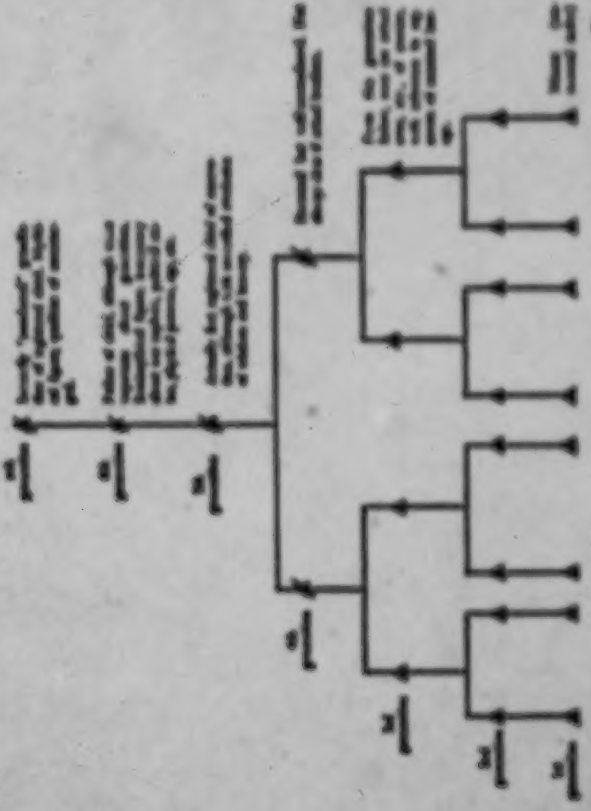
DIAGRAM I. Model of Maximal Lineage



591 Most Mapuche living arrangements are accounted for by a simple rule of patrilocal residence. When a man marries he brings his wife to his reservation and lives there with her on land allotted to him according to his claim on his patrilineage. Within this broad context, there are variations, one of which has been characterized as "neolocality." Under present-day conditions, neolocality does not imply that a man sets up his own household off the paternal reservation. It has been used, by Titiev (1951), to describe a condition in which a man moves away from the paternal roof after marriage, although remaining on the reservation. The distance he moves and the kind of relationship he maintains with his paternal household of course qualify the concept of neolocality. In all cases, however, the situation is one of patrilocality by reservation.

59 If a man continues to work his father's land, depends on his father's assistance in building his new house and setting up a household, and generally remains under his father's authority in important economic matters, I feel that it is misleading to characterize the residence pattern as neolocal. Actually, it is more in the nature of a compound arrangement in which each son, or most of them, sets up a house of his own after marriage. The paternal house is the focal point of the group of houses and together with them makes up a joint extended family (lofche). It is similar to the polygynous family (or polygynous unit) in which a man has separate houses for each of his wives and their children, although in the polygynous cases the houses are more scattered, whereas in the former case the sons' houses might be near the perimeter of the paternal land. But in either case, we must look to the interhousehold relationships before attempting to define the type of residence.

Thus, the rule of patrilocal residence is generally adhered to but must be qualified when greater specificity is desired. There is the compound variation already mentioned. There is also the building of houses away from the paternal house, followed by a rupture of relationships between father and sons or, more usually, between brothers and their own sons. Where this occurs, it might be more useful to consider the pattern as one of virilocal residence, implying a certain measure of autonomy per household unit not observable to the same extent in the

compound of joint-extended family arrangement. Even so, this 59
is a variation within the rule of patrilocality, if the reservation
community is taken as the frame of reference.

A break with the patrilocal rule occasionally occurs and may 591
be termed uxorilocal residence. This pattern seems of greater
structural significance than the finer variations within the
patrilocal pattern; and uxorilocal residence seems to depend
almost wholly on conditions engendered by the reservation
system. It is both a relatively modern phenomenon and an [178]
infrequently encountered living arrangement, although pat-
terned and sanctioned. The Mapuche recognize it as an infringe- [829]
ment of the patrilocal rule. Situational factors determine
whether it is welcomed, tolerated, or resisted on any reservation.
It generally occurs in cases where the husband has no land of his
own and the wife has a claim to land on her natal reservation.

With divorce or widowhood a Mapuche woman may look to 591
her natal group for support and protection and, as a rule, is able 736
to return to her father's or brother's house to live and rear her 602
small children. This has long been Mapuche practice. On the
one hand it reflects the duties of the lineage group toward a [613]
member or, more personally stated, the obligations of a father to
his daughter or a brother to his sister. In the past it seems that 587
such women did not remarry (i.e. enter another union in which 591.
brideprice was paid) and remained on their natal reservation. If
they remarried, they resettled or, more commonly, remained on
their husband's reservation and established a new household
with one of his actual or lineage brothers, under the system of
widow inheritance. Widow inheritance, properly speaking, does [583]
not constitute remarriage, since no additional brideprice is paid
for rights over the woman.

At the time of the registration of reservations, women as well 562
as men were enrolled on the government lists. Since that time, 591
at least, the Mapuche have accorded theoretical rights in land to 423
women so registered (but not to their descendants or to women
born after registration). While these rights cannot always be [648]
validated, their admission, among other things, has conditioned
Mapuche thinking to the extent that women who remain on
their natal reservation (under certain circumstances) are given
de facto use rights to plots of land. These women are usually

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

562 spinsters, unmarried women over the age of thirty or so, who
591 may have children, but for whom no brideprice has been
423 received. These women may eventually marry and remain on their natal reservation, residing uxorilocally with their husbands. Their ability to do so always depends on the status of their closest male relative on the reservation, the person who acts as their sponsor and protector in this matter.

613
621 *The Composition of the Residential Kingroup.* In essence, the residential kingroup is formed around a core of patrilineally related males and includes their spouses and children, as well as unmarried, widowed, or divorced females of the patrilineage. Most Mapuche reservations are composed of more than one such group. Since this has important implications for certain Mapuche rituals, as well as for interreservational economic, political, and kinship structures, I will make a brief historical digression for the purpose of indicating how this situation became generalized throughout Mapucheland. It is helpful in understanding the structure of dominant and subordinate lineages on the reservation-community level of analysis.

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178 Subordinate lineages are those which attached themselves to the original chief of the reservation, the head of the dominant group in the area at the time of registration. It is inappropriate to speak of lineages—if we have in mind localized, corporate descent groups—during the era of warfare, or at the time of the inauguration of the reservation system, when peace was newly established. Corporate lineages formed only after a generation or so of reservation life, and the localization of the membership within small political and economic boundaries. At the time of registration, much of the influence of the head of the dominant kingroup was based on politico-military and economic authority. He held sway over a larger-than-kinship aggregate which made up a fighting force strong enough to defend its life and resources in time of attack by Chilean troops. The power implied in this relationship waned with the establishment of peaceful conditions and the fixation of reservation communities. What has since become important in these communities is the ability of individuals to trace descent back to the original founder, the chief, or to some other member of the community registered under his leadership.

Dominant lineages have increased in size (breadth) to a 613 621 178
greater extent than most subordinate lineages, remaining dominant in terms of actual numerical membership and by virtue of lineal descendence from the original chief, the title holder of reservation land. This dominance seems contingent on the fact that they controlled land at the time of registration and because they were in a strong enough position to be able to validate this claim over successive generations. Members of the subordinate [578]
lineages were often forced to leave the reservation under pressure of the dominant group, which could lay claim to rights of inheritance from the original chief whenever any issue arose about clearing and using new land. Members of subordinate [601]
lineages are sometimes, in anger, called winka (outsider), there [578]
by sufferance of the founding chief, rather than as members of the legitimate descent group.

An important result of this relationship is that the structure and composition of subordinate lineages is generally different from that of dominant lineages on most reservations—at least on those reservations where problems of population pressure arose soon after registration. Graphically, the base of a subordinate lineage tends to be much narrower than that of the dominant one, since many of its members have moved off the reservation, while those of the dominant group, having a greater stake in the community and more easily validated rights to the acquisition of land through inheritance, have remained and raised their families there. These subordinate lineages, however, are very tightly integrated groups. They are small, and their members stand as a unit in opposition (no active hostility implied) to the several segments of the larger and more internally differentiated dominant lineage. Subordinate lineages, in terms of the relationships among their members, are highly comparable to smaller segments of the dominant lineage, to a discussion of which I now turn.

Sublineation

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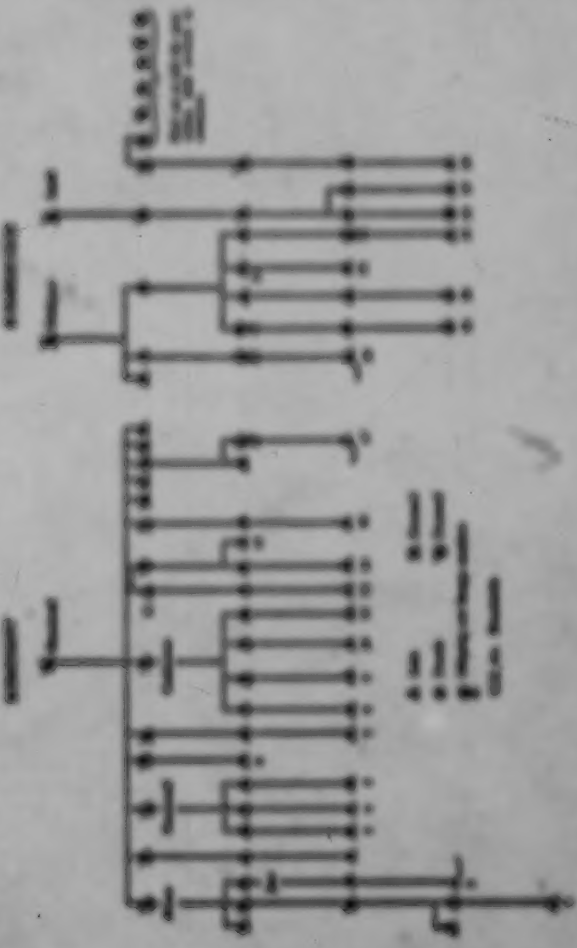
Diagram II, depicting a maximal lineage segmented into its sublineages, approximates "ethnographic reality" and differs importantly from Diagram I, which is a model of maximal lineage structure. Nevertheless, the same structural principles

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 33]

15: Faron E-6,5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

30 HAWKS OF THE SUN

DIAGRAM II. Dominant and Subordinate Lineages



apply. The essential difference is that the minimal requirements of the model are here given over to an approximation of actual reservation kingroups, segmented into branches of most closely related kinsmen. The horizontal emphasis is impressive, and is without doubt the expression of an expanding local population. 613

It will be remembered that, for the purpose of economic cooperation, the entire lineage group is less frequently involved than it was generations ago, as its segments tend to be so organized today. This is a factor of its internal differentiation, in the process of which authority has become more diffuse in matters of a practical nature. I speak especially of lines of authority running between members in relationships such as uncle-nephew, cousins, and so forth, rather than in a metaphysical sense with respect to moral authority, vested in the deceased founder of the lineage, authority which splays out from the founding ancestor to all living descendants. 613 621 178 (602)

It is with regard both to practical and to moral considerations that membership in a patrilineal descent group is valued by the residential unit. But in looking at the practical economic or political motives of the individuals in residence, we see that there are lines of fission which serve to differentiate the membership into segments of most closely related males. It is mainly among these most closely related kinsmen that really bitter disputes arise over matters of land-use rights and inheritance in general. A very good case can be made for the frequent occurrence of such disputes during the historical era, in which the Mapuche were physically mobile and when disaffected parties could easily move away from natal groups. Today, if one wishes to remain a member of the Mapuche world, this solution is no longer possible. 613 621 578 613 621 [178]

Serious dissension within sublineages sometimes results in one brother or cousin relinquishing rights (almost always to land) to the others and moving off the reservation. I do not mean to give the impression that this sort of rupture occurs frequently today, or that such disputes necessarily constitute a permanent rupture in relationships. But the fact is, nevertheless, that when this occurs, one of the members of the sublineage gives up his Mapuche heritage. In most cases the person who relinquishes 613 621 578 425 613 621 425

12: Faron E-4,5 (1952-1954) 1964
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613 621 425 rights to land receives some form of compensation. This may be a lump settlement in cash, or a piecemeal payment over a number of years, or it may be a long-term verbal agreement in which the person who moves off the reservation is to receive a share of the produce from so-and-so many acres of land.

613 621 627 578 These fallings-out between close relatives may be called business disputes, since they are almost always of a direct economic origin. But there are moral issues involved also, and it is significant that so many of these disputes are settled by monetary arrangement, rather than leading to litigation in Chilean courts (although this occurs) or to the practice of witchcraft by one or both parties to gain advantage over the other (although this, too, happens). In a hard-headed business sense, members of these sublineages contest each other's rights not infrequently, but there is always the real possibility that matters will be resolved amicably on the basis of a recognition of ultimate individual rights, arising from the closeness of the kinship bond among the disputants. Such matters are most always settled within the small sublineage; rarely is an appeal for arbitration made to elders of other sublineages on the reservation, except for disputes between members of different sublineages.

613 182 There is, then, this note of moral responsibility—a consideration of the birth rights of kinsmen within the context of Mapuche morality—which is sounded even in the most bitter economic battles. Looking at the force which constrains such disputants to make peace with each other takes us into a consideration of the total ancestral lineage. It is the essentially nonsegmentary, compartmental system of religious morality which makes fission of the sublineages desirable and possible, and which gives the strongly unilinear form to the higher generations. Continuity among members of the localized lineage is weakened in the lower generational levels, in matters of a practical nature. The collateral lines collapse, however, and approximate the model form of the ancestral lineage, because it is essential for the living membership to converge on a common ancestor as directly as possible. This need overrides divisive tendencies which stem from the mundane sphere of social action. The idealized ancestral lineage diagrammed to ap-

proximate ethnographic reality reflects a different set of interests than the model diagram which simply converges on the ancestor-god. Therefore, segments of the maximal lineage may be said to function differently depending on whether involvement of the membership is economic, political, or ritual in nature—to take three of the most interesting and important spheres of social action. 613 182

The Chain of Intrafamilial Relationships

As already indicated, the family, defined as a land-using household group, whether in the extended or elementary phase of development, has emerged as the basic economic (agricultural) unit in Mapuche society. As the lineage-based residential group has increased in size of membership, so has it diminished in importance as a unit in day-to-day cooperative enterprise. It is the household or small group of closely related households which carries out the basic economic activities. 59 178

The family may be viewed from several angles, depending on which kinds of relationships are to be examined. It may be discussed as a structural unit comparable to other such units in the society. It may also be conceived of as a special relationship in time, which exists until its members establish new sets of relationships which affect both the composition and the organization of the family. The nature of any family changes in the course of years and generations, most obviously with respect to births, marriages, deaths, and the realignments these imply. 59

It is with a highly selective aspect of the family constellation that I am now concerned, that is, with the family as a link in a chain of social relationships over time. Of greatest importance to this study is the family as a microcosm of the lineage, as a structure of continuity in Mapuche society. There are certain key relationships which are family-based, and which serve to maintain social continuity. These are the relationships between father and son, between brothers, and, especially, the relationship between grandfather and grandchild. [613]

As in other patrilineal systems, it generally holds that the intrafamilial relationship of most immediate structural significance is that between father and son. In Mapuche society, inheritance, at least in theory, is equal among a man's legitimate sons. [593 613 428]

000 own. It is directly from the father that all men acquire lineage-based rights within the reservation community. These include the right to land and house site, the right to participate in political, economic, recreational, and ritual activities of the community. Today, these rights are more immediately invested in the household head, that is, the father-husband, than they seem to have been in the recent past. A few generations ago, the chief of a reservation took a more active role in deciding the apportionment of land, controlled political decisions, organized economic activities, gave or withheld permission to marry (connected with his control over land), and conducted game activities (for military preparedness). While the chief is still the repository of such powers, he seldom takes an active part in granting or withholding rights of this kind. These rights have tended to become fixed within the smaller segments of the lineage, in the two-generational or, at most, the three-generational branches. In many cases, these are extended-family groupings. For example, if one's grandfather and father farmed a certain section of land on the reservation, one would not have to validate his rights to this land before the chief or even before a council of elders, provided there was no serious contest among heirs which called for lineage arbitration.

613 622 421 Much the same may be said for other rights enjoyed by a man's sons. These are indeed lineage rights, theoretically subject to approval by the responsible members of the lineage, headed by the chief, but actually passing from father to son, free from infringement by kinsmen who are not one's immediate family. There are sufficient exceptions to this *de facto* condition, however, to indicate that on occasion the traditional powers vested in the lineage may be brought into play, and that the chief is more than the mere titular head of the community. The chief is a spokesman for the localized lineage, and among all the elders he has the greatest authority. But by and large these lineage-based powers are seldom activated, and the inheritance system, as one example, operates in seeming independence of lineage machinery, so long as one household does not infringe seriously on the rights of others. This is an indication of the smoothness with which the lineage system functions.

000 When we move into the sphere of Mapuche morality,

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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When we move into the sphere of Mapuche morality, however, we shift our focus from the narrow confines of the single household, and from the rather clear-cut authoritarian relationship between father and son, to the larger social aggregate. Whatever Mapuche religion might have been in the past, today it is not characteristically a household religion. It has its important familial aspect, but the full significance of Mapuche religious morality is seen only with respect to the larger congregation which, for any individual, is lineage-based. One's spiritual connection to this larger group is mediated by one's father and grandfather, and so on back to and beyond the authentic founder of the maximal lineage. The precise intermediate links of one person are of relatively little importance to members of collateral sublineages. The spiritual bond linking the entire lineage group into a ritual entity is, for all members, directly with a ritually important ancestor. So, collateral lines converge. But one's most intimate ties with the ritual group are figured through a direct succession of males, a succession which cannot be the same for all members of the lineage. 613 771

A man does not consider his father or even his grandfather to be a god. He stands in awe of his father's spirit and fears that if he does not propitiate it properly, some evil may befall him. His grandfather's spirit is even more venerated and awesome. But ancestral deification is the product of generations of forgetfulness and fabrication. It takes time for the ancestral myth to mature. In terms of lineage structure, one ancestral spirit replaces that of another still more removed ancestor, or the qualities of both tend to fuse. The structure telescopes at approximately the sixth or seventh generations, but stories about the founding ancestor may actually describe events, such as war exploits and contacts with certain historically identifiable Spanish and other European groups, that took place in the early nineteenth or late eighteenth centuries. 769 613 [174]

In the household, practical instruction is received from one's father and mother. But, strikingly, children receive little instruction in traditional moral lore from their parents. This knowledge is acquired informally, for the most part, from the grandfather or his surrogate (e.g. any laku). The grandchild and his father are both exposed to this kind of instruction simultaneously, the father's prior knowledge being reshaped continually as his child 867 869 [865]

867 learns. For the practical purpose of passing traditional knowledge
603 from one adult generation to another, this situation
593 provides instruction from father to son, occurring, however,
when a third generation is introduced to traditional morality.
As the third generation matures, the instruction is reinforced
at the time the fourth generation is introduced to the traditional
values through stories and myths. And so on.

867 The grandfather does not usually recount his own life
829 experiences as object lessons in good living to the same extent
that he repeats what he himself learned from his father and
603 grandfather. It is likely that many of the fundamental do's and
613 don't's of eighteenth-century vintage are still passed along in this
way. This seems a recurrent phenomenon among contemporary
[769] Mapuche. It is intimately related to the propitiation of ancestral
spirits, to the notion that a man begets offspring for his
[601] grandfather. This continuity is expressed in the reciprocal use of
the *laku* term between alternate generations, in the *lakutun*
[553] (naming rite) in which grandfather bestows a name on grandson,
and in the ritual association of the words *kume laku pu am*,
which may be translated as "the beneficent spirits of my
grandfathers." It is an outlook or world view which serves to
compress time within the limits of the lineage framework and
thus connect more closely the living with the dead. It is a notion
which sees no violence done to history through the omission of
pinpointing in time historic events, or even lumping together or
presenting out of sequence the salient events of Mapucheana.
Because of this a-historical view (in this instance) of the
universe, there is the impression of timelessness and infinite
sameness, an intellectual ambient which facilitates the compression
of genealogies and their manipulation toward even more
solidary structures.

59 Institutionalized relationships within the immediate family
182 confines, the household or group of most closely related households,
867 create and reinforce notions of moral obligation. The
household is the meeting ground for the practical training of the
young and for their instruction in religious morality. But the
sanctions for this instruction come from without the confines of
[603] the household. They are mediated by the grandfather-figure and
the host of *kume laku pu am*, and are truly cosmic in origin. At

any given time the family constellation is a link in this never-ending chain of relationships with the past and the future. 59 182 867

Courtship and Marriage

Marriage brings new elementary families into being and provides offspring of regularized unions a clearly legitimate status in the patrilineage and the reservation community. Marriage is a fundamental expression of institutionalized relationships between unilineal descent groups which stand to one another as wife-giver and wife-receiver. It is a structure which involves rights and obligations surrounding the transfer of wealth between such groups, as well as patterned and traditionally santioned primary and secondary unions, separation, divorce, ritual belief and action of a congregational nature, and numerous other aspects of sustained social relationship.[1] 581

During marriage negotiations and nuptials there is much formal concern with spirits ancestral to the cognatic group most directly involved, the union and in most cases the reunion of the two lines, the preservation of descent groups through the legitimate procreation of children and heirs, the substantiation of traditional values through the correct conduct of the marriage ceremony, and so forth. Mapuche notions of incest-exogamy, sanctioned in myth and story and overwhelmingly observed in practice, are reinforced through a number of symbolic acts connected with marriage.

Courtship is a prelude to marriage within the boundaries of the matrilateral system. Conducted along established lines of wife-giving and wife-receiving lineages, courtship provides the setting for premarital sexual affairs on a level of respectability which receives the tacit approval of the elders of any community. The young couple and their immediate families are committed to the fact that marriage will take place in due course and according to traditional form. Marriage is a reaffirmation of the established bonds between segments of a person's cognatic group of relatives, segments which have a sustained marital 584 [836] 581

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[1] Marriage is discussed in most detail in *Mapuche Social Structure* (Faron 1961e).

581 [585] relationship. These bonds are symbolically expressed and revalidated during the several phases of the protracted marriage ritual.

582 Courtship and marriage are both rather rigidly circumscribed
by considerations of morality. Patrilineal exogamy is a Mapuche
rule which is not capable of being broken, if exogamy is
considered at the level of marriage rather than with reference to
[836] pre- or extramarital affairs. Even casual affairs take place with
[837] almost full observance of the exogamic rule. Breaches occasionally
684 occur. These, however, are usually due to ignorance or
622 drunken abandon, and are quickly brought to an end by
community action, which imposes ostracism or banishment in
cases where continued infraction is indicated. Intralineage
836 sexual affairs almost never occur, but there is a danger of casual
relationships taking place between a man and the marriage-linked
lineage into which his lineage sister has married. Usually,
this is due to ignorance on the part of the offenders, who in most
cases are adolescents unaware of the special bonds which place
835 them in a proscribed category. Any sexual connection between a
613 man and a woman from the lineage into which his father's sister,
father's brother's daughter, or own sister has married is, by
definition of the matrilateral rule, considered incest. Marriage
could not take place under these conditions. Inadvertent or,
in the rare instances of occurrence, defiant sexual affairs between
persons so related are described by the Mapuche as "copulating
like dogs."

613 While lineage exogamy is essentially one hundred percent
582 complete—considering marriage only, it is unquestionably complete—it
is, nevertheless, the negative, proscriptive aspect of the
marriage rule, with reference to lineages linked through fathers'
sisters (real or classificatory), which underscores the strength
of the matrilateral preference. In effect, a man marries matrilaterally
or (rarely) entirely outside the traditional framework
of paired wife-giving and wife-receiving groups. Although preferential
rather than prescriptive, the Mapuche marriage system is
highly preferential, the flow of women or the acquisition of
wives being almost rigidly unilateral. There is not a hint of
simple exchange between intermarrying lineages, which would

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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constitute incest. Marriage negotiations simply could not occur 613
under such circumstances. Marriage, therefore, is not only 582
regulated by lineal considerations of propriety but by lateral restrictions and preferences, the traditional expression of which (*admapu*) is matrilaterality.

The Mapuche rationale for the perpetuation of the matri- 613
lateral system is phrased partly in terms of sorcery. A man does 582
not fear that his mother's closest kinsmen will practice witch- 754
craft against him, at least not homicidal sorcery. All Mapuche [609]
distrust outsiders—nonrelatives who are not of the locality—as potential sorcerers. To break the matrilateral pattern, as is sometimes done, and marry into an unrelated and unknown group is to court danger. There is resistance on both sides, as well, since neither the kinsmen of the young man nor those of his intended bride approve of this kind of departure from the norm. A man, consequently, finds that the surest and easiest road to marriage lies over the bridge established by his mother or other in-married kinswomen to a traditionally-linked wife-giving lineage.

A man is in a number of ways beholden to the group which 613
regularly supplies his lineage with wives. He must, for example, 583
pay brideprice (*mafun*: to pay for a woman) in order to obtain his wife and to establish lineal rights over her and the children she produces. In this he complies with the demands of the wife-giving (wife-providing[9]) group, and is willing to do so because of the ease of obtaining a wife from them and the security involved in marrying a woman from a known group of
cognatic kinsmen. The relative superiority of the wife-giving 554
group is made clear in several ways, involving payments, during 602
the period of marriage negotiations and nuptials, as well as on 613
other occasions before and after marriage. 583

There is lifelong recognition of the relative social superiority 571
and inferiority, respectively, of the group which provides wives

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[9] When talking to the groom's agnates the term *mafun* is used; when dis- [195]
cussing brideprice with the bride's agnates, the term *[illegible]* is generally [601]
used. This usage reflects the relative position of the two categories, *[illegible]* signifying "the provision or sale of a young woman." The customary designations wife "giver" and "receiver" do not fully express this relationship.

554 and the one which must pay for them.[5] This is expressed in
602 kinship terminology. Men of the wife-giving group refer to
613 wife-receivers as "the one who has purchased" (ñillan: to
583 purchase; also, used as a kinship term which may be roughly
translated as brother-in-law). Those of the receiving group call
571 those whom they pay for wives weku (roughly, maternal uncle).
These terms are used in a general classificatory manner which
[801] serves to identify wife-receivers as ñillan and wife-givers as weku,
regardless of terminological modifications which occur for any
individual after marriage.

It is during the period when marriage is being negotiated and ritually solemnized that the relative inferiority of the wife-receiving lineage is most emphatically symbolized. On balance, and with respect both to items of material and symbolic value, the wife-receiving group pays considerably more than the bride brings in dowry.[6] The brideprice payments and ceremonial acts of subservience indicate the traditional superiority of the wife-giving group.

584 A young man who has come to an understanding with a girl,
and possibly with her parents, goes to seek out her father in the
company of one or more of his older kinsmen or sends them in
586 his stead to initiate the suit of marriage. Their proposal comes
613 under the scrutiny of several elders of the girl's lineage, her
father's closest kinsmen-friends. The latter, strongly influenced
by the girl's father, pass judgement on the marriage proposal and

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[578] [5] I am not considering personal feelings here. In general, though, it may be
said that the wife-receiving group is felt to harbor resentment against the
wife-giving group. The suspected ill will of the receiving group causes wife-
givers to charge them, sometimes openly, of not caring for the women they
receive in marriage, of saying that their door is always open (which, in fact,
it is not) to their married sisters who wish to return, and causes them to
[754] associate ñillan with sorcery, under certain adverse circumstances. In this
latter notion is something of the idea that socially inferior persons of little
esteem practice sorcery against their social superiors, who are usually wealthy
men (ülmen).

[6] In speaking of brideprice and dowry the Mapuche refer most often to land and cattle. The word for dowry, however, is properly ñi, and really signifies household goods, clothing, jewelry, weaving loom, etc., which, to my mind, indicates 1) that an equal exchange of animals is a post-reservation phenomenon which took on after land had acquired its present importance in Mapuche life, and 2) that some ostentatious exchange is necessary for cementing the marriage contract (see Faron 1961a:207).

may refuse the suit or delay the marriage. In any case, the 584
groom's lineage is placed in a position clearly inferior to that of 613
the bride's.

Titiev's assertion that there is an approximately equal ex- 583
change of marriage wealth in which "neither party expects to 114
gain very much . . . any profit will probably be spent in mutual entertainment" (1951: 101) is an untenable observation. In the absence of a conceptual scheme of Mapuche marriage alliances it is easy enough to see how Titiev was misled by informants' statements to this effect. For one thing, the most loquacious 583
informants seem very interested in convincing the outsider that 829
Mapuche customs are pretty much in line with those of local [115]
Chileans, and that the exchange of gifts at marriage is an equal expression of friendship, mutual respect, and so forth. Whatever gift exchange might mean among Chilean peasants, the Mapuche marriage negotiations deny any conception of equality, and a carefully elicited explanation of the details of the negotiations and nuptial acts reveals that the exchange of wealth is far from being equal. There is an important imbalance of brideprice payment, without which traditional marriage could not take place.

There is much haggling over marriage wealth, with the result 583
that the economic value of the most important moveable items [437]
of brideprice and dowry (cattle) tend to cancel each other. In this sense, "neither party expects to gain very much." But even with regard to cattle there is really no equality after the initial ostentatious exchange is made, since part of the brideprice animals is always used to provide meat for the wedding guests. The groom's people provide the meat and the bride's father controls its distribution and use.

Beyond this "equal" exchange of moveable goods, however, is 583
the groom's farmland which comes under consideration. Both 423
parties to the marriage are quite concerned with this land. That of the groom emphasizes its richness and other qualities. The bride will exercise lifelong rights over this land, even after her husband's death, and this is stressed. This transfer of limited-use rights to the bride is the *sine qua non* of traditional marriage. Without land, made available by the lineage of the groom, marriage tends to involve atypical uxorilocal residence or

583 is contracted completely outside the traditional context. In
423 neither case does traditionally approved marriage take place.

While the transfer of rights over land is the most important
613 economic aspect of the imbalance of brideprice payment, it is
602 not, as already indicated, an isolated expression of the social
583 inferiority of the wife-receiving lineage. The bride's lineage is
571 attentive to her well-being while she is in residence on her
husband's reservation. It retains residual rights over her, indicating that her presentation to the groom's family constitutes a largess which can never be repaid in full, that this places the wife-receiving group in continual obligation to the wife-givers, and that this obligation endures even beyond the lifetime of the woman and involves the care of her corpse and her spirit by the receiving group. There is no mechanism in Mapuche society to release wife-receivers from this eternal obligation. Indeed, as I shall point out later, if it is felt that they have been remiss in caring for the spiritual needs of a deceased woman this feeling might be expressed by the wife-givers saying that they suspect foul play (witchcraft) on the part of the receiving group.

585 During the marriage ceremony, which takes place on the
431 bride's reservation, there are two instances in which the bride's
602 family receive animals from the groom and his family. The
571 special acts involved in this presentation indicate or symbolise
the relative status of the two groups. At the outset, the groom makes a dramatic entrance on horseback with a couple of his lineage agemates. They lead a special horse, ox, or several sheep (depending on the wealth and local prestige of the families concerned) which are due for presentation to the parents of the bride. They slaughter the animal(s) and make an obligatory presentation of most of it to the father of the bride, one of several such subservient acts. This offering is then prepared and cooked by the bride's family and distributed by them as hosts to the most important guests, who receive the large and choice portions. After this is done, the father of the bride selects one or more of the brideprice animals to be slaughtered for the general ceremonial feasting, during which all those assembled gorge themselves. These animals likewise are then killed and cut up by the groom (and his family) and handed back to the family of the bride for preparation and distribution.

While the marriage feast is in progress, another important 585
ritual is enacted—*mafelutun* (derived from *mafun*: brideprice), a 583
ceremony connected with the distribution of brideprice. Specifi- 431
cally, it involves the presentation of a horse or several sheep to a 602
married sister (real or classificatory) of the bride who is in 571
residence on another reservation. As a consequence of matrilateral preference and the rule of patrilocality, *mafelutun* often takes place on the groom's reservation. Several of the groom's young kinsmen ride off ostentatiously to where the bride's sister is waiting for them. A "little marriage ceremony" (*pichi ñillanthungun*) takes place at the bride's sister's house, in which a ritual presentation (*wenpin*) of the payment is made to her. Her acceptance, prearranged and automatic, constitutes the recognition of affineship with the groom's lineage, again symbolizing its wife-receiving status.

During the wedding celebration a point is reached at which time an additional payment is made to the mother of the bride by the parents of the groom. This is a token payment of a few pesos, without which the marriage ceremony would be imperfect. Although the intrinsic value of this payment is negligible, its omission is unthinkable. Sometimes its presentation is forgotten or delayed beyond the proper point in the ceremony. This is the occasion for the bride's group to make jokes at the expense of that of the groom. They joke about the *ñillan* group having entered marriage negotiations with reservations about their obligations to the wife-givers, their "seniors" (*weku*), a snide charge which causes chagrin among the wife-receivers.

Four days after the completion of the wedding ceremony, 585
after the bride is installed in her husband's house, the parents of 431
the groom, in the company of their son and his wife, make a 602
ceremonial visit to the parents of the bride. They present the 571
parents of the bride with a slaughtered sheep. Part of this animal is prepared for a ritual meal in which all assembled participate. This, like the token money payment, is not considered part of brideprice proper. Its omission, however, on whatever grounds, is considered a serious breach of etiquette, insofar as it would signify marked disrespect to the entire wife-giving group, which deserves deferential consideration as a special and superior segment of one's cognatic kinsmen.

Government, Autonomy, and Jural Rights

128 648 In *Mapuche Social Structure*, I devoted a short chapter to the consideration of Chilean administration of Mapuche reservations, the history of this relationship, the changing role of chief, and the place of the reservation in the total scheme. Here I will be even briefer, attempting only to relate Chilean control, Mapuche internal adaptation, and the nature of the politico-jural units as viewed on the one hand by Chileans and Mapuche in an Indian-white context and on the other by the Mapuche ethnic isolate—specifically, in regard to the relationship between the legal reservation and the ritual congregation, the latter having no legal status. My interest is in showing that the single reservation is a legal, political entity mainly from the Chilean point of view and, therefore, is such to a limited extent in the Mapuche frame of reference as well. This, however, does not take into account Mapuche congregationalism, which has special implications for chieftainship and the moral community.

621 648 613 641 One enjoys a set of rights by virtue of having been born into the reservation community, as already indicated in some detail. These are lineage-based rights, a more specific concept than that conceived of by the Chilean government. The Chilean government, through its Indian courts and other agencies, recognizes certain Mapuche rights and identifies individuals on the basis of their membership (by birth or marriage) in a reservation community. There is no awareness on the government's part that for certain matters the lineage structure is the defining framework of membership and that for others the framework is extended to alliance groups and the ritual congregation. Rather, 621 648 in the eyes of Chilean officialdom, the territorial entity "reservation" is the defining criterion. Mapuche are forced to deal with Chilean agencies on Chilean terms, their traditional conceptions minimized by Chilean authorities, who discount or ignore both supra- and infrareservational affiliations. It is little wonder that most Mapuche feel that the Chilean government fails to dispense justice, since there is little or no basis for common understanding.

The reservation system, then, has forced the Mapuche into an

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alien legal framework which has implications for the structure of kinship and marriage, the moral system, and other institutions. We find concern with chieftainship, law suits, government agencies, reservation titles, votes for preservation or dissolution (*división*) of a reservation, all phrased in a Chilean context and usually in the Spanish language. There seems to be in the Chileanized framework only the reservation community, a mapped area, comprising the jural community, autonomous of all other such reservation communities and related only to Chilean political agencies.

But there is another dimension to the jural community which is multilineal and multireservational, of which the Chilean government is officially unaware. In this sphere of social action we deal with customary Mapuche law (*admapu*); we enter the realm of the ritual congregation, we must consider the structure of matrilateral marriage; we must consider the entire area of supernatural environment. Here there is no question about legal status under Chilean law, which merely recognizes chieftainship in terms of discrete reservation units and only in its secular aspects. For an understanding of Mapuche morality, one must look to these larger-than-reservation and smaller-than-reservation units. The reservations are on the one hand creations of an alien government and on the other, now that they have been in existence for generations, real entities in Mapuche society. In any case, though, the reservation is always a segment of a larger entity, the ritual congregation.

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In this monograph, I make no systematic inquiry into the structure of dual systems of morality. Rather, and somewhat arbitrarily, I select for discussion only those aspects of this larger relationship system which are of direct importance for the traditional moral order and associated ritual. There are essentially three areas into which separate inquiry may be made: (1) that of the relationship between the Chilean government and the single reservation, and the effects of this orientation on the residents of the reservation community (described in *Mapuche Social Structure*); (2) that between several reservation groups which constitute a ritual congregation, itself a complex structure; (3) that of the relationship between total Mapuche society

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128 and those sectors of Chilean society with which it comes into contact, a subject which I give brief consideration in the concluding chapter. It is the second area of relationships which I have selected for detailed treatment in this book, and to which I turn my attention in Chapter Four.

Two: DIMENSIONS OF THE SUPERNATURAL WORLD

THIS chapter attempts to place in significant order concepts about the most sacred supernatural forces and 128 771
beings operative in Mapucheland. It is concerned with the ideational aspects of Mapuche religion. Mapuche are socialized in these beliefs—so successfully that Christianity does not appear even as a significant veneer over traditional belief.

Mapuche religious lore consists of a body of beliefs to which 771
an estimated 250,000 people subscribe with a great amount of 184
agreement. The concepts and ceremonies concerning the pantheon of gods, afterlife, malevolent forces, although exhibiting significant regional variation in certain details, present a fairly consistent picture throughout Mapucheland. Among the Mapuche, generally, it may be said that most persons who participate regularly in ceremonial activities have quite similar notions about religion and ritual performance. Similarity of belief and action, therefore, has a certain regional expression, and the region defined by the anthropologist and the Mapuche themselves is greater or smaller depending on the level of generalization on which beliefs and actions are analyzed.

While there is marked cultural uniformity throughout [776]
Mapucheland, there is significant regional variation in emphasis placed on the propitiation of sets of gods and deified ancestral spirits. Mapuche deities are anthropomorphic and anthroposocial, some of them differing from one lineage group to the next. This is difference of a social nature, within a framework of great cultural homogeneity. Its significance may be understood best by maintaining as separate analytical tools the concepts of culture and society, the failure to do so having resulted in a number of unfortunate interpretations of Mapuche religion to date.

Ñenechen and the *Pantheon*

776 The Mapuche have a numerous pantheon, consisting of major, minor, and lesser deities. Respectively, these may be called [777] ethnic, regional, and lineage deities. The organization of concepts denies significant Christian influences, but there have been, [128] or appear to have been, inroads. Although I discuss this aspect of acculturation in the final chapter, it might be useful at this point to indicate the kind of change Mapuche religion might have undergone as a result of Christian missionization.

Let us say that *ñenechen* is a Supreme Being for most Mapuche. This is generally true, whether or not *ñenechen* is conceived of as the same or distinct from the Christian God. *Ñenechen* is called the god of the Mapuche, and this should not be taken lightly. Outspoken Mapuche say that the whites have their god and the Mapuche theirs. It is difficult, however, to establish with any certainty how generalized this belief is in Mapucheland, for reasons which I shall elaborate later. Nevertheless, whether conceived of as the same or as distinct from the Christian God, *ñenechen's* apical position in the pantheon [191] might well be a result of Christian influence. It is important to note in this regard that *ñenechen* is called Supreme Being only when Mapuche use the Spanish language. Since it is not customary for them to render this concept in Araucanian, the ritual language, it is always difficult to discern to just what extent the Spanish rendition reflects Mapuche thinking. In any case, the supremacy of *ñenechen*, in the Christian sense of divinity, is inconsistent with much of Mapuche belief. Mapuche notions of the opposition of good and evil forces, however, provide some logical basis for the implantation of at least some Christian concepts.

Ñenechen is not considered omniscient or omnipotent. He is called "god of the Mapuche," "ruler of the Mapuche," and several other terms of almost identical meaning. Often, during the ceremonial recitation, prefixes such as *chau* (father) or *kume* (good) are used when *ñenechen* is invoked. There are other gods who are sometimes identified with *ñenechen*, though most often they are not—at least not in formal ritual expression.

When there is identification, the peculiar qualities of these minor or regional deities appear as attributes of *ñenechen*, or they themselves might be raised to the same level as *ñenechen*, the rationale being that these are simply different names for the same god. This again seems to be a conception resulting from Christian influence, but it is, as always, problematical to what extent the Mapuche really order their concepts of the godhead in a Christianized framework. On occasion, any deity may be described as a *ñenechen*, and the expression *weza* (evil) *ñenechen* is also employed—all of which sheds doubt on any deep penetration of Christian ideas. 776 776 177

Ñenemapun is said to have made the earth and to rule the earth, which is sometimes said of *ñenechen*. *Elchen* or *elchen chaw* is spoken of as the "maker of the people" and the "father of the people." Sometimes *ñenemapun* and *elchen* are equated with *ñenechen*, most often not. It is said that one term is older than the others and therefore more correct, depending on the context in which they are used. The Mapuche frequently resort to historico-linguistic explanations of this sort to reconcile—before the outsider—contradictory or overlapping terminology and concepts. Within these limits, there is a marked consistency with which the word *ñenechen* is used in Mapuche ritual expression. 776 [829]

The gods have wives and children. In most cases Mapuche logic seems to attribute patriarchal qualities to the gods simply in order to round out the universe. Wives of the gods are never important figures, either in myth or during ceremonies. The same may be said for most of the sons of the gods (that gods have daughters seems no more than a logical Mapuche extension, for these are of no apparent mythical or ritual importance); but the sons of certain gods, especially the [illegible], are of great importance. *Ñenechen* is married to an old woman called *ñenechen kushe*, whose attributes are far inferior to those of her husband. *Pillan*, sometimes equated with Satan, the god of thunder or of the volcanoes, has *pillan kushe* beside him. Her powers are at most complementary to those of her husband. There are no female deities with great or special powers, unless one consider the familiar spirits of shamans as such. They [811]

776 appear as window dressing in the supernatural world, their main function seeming to be that of completing the complementarity of sexes in the Mapuche universe.

776 773 It is said that "everything has its spirit" and that there are certain gods which control and, in other instances, have created the more natural phenomena. *Ŋenechen* made and is master of the people; *ŋenemapun* made and is master of the earth. Lesser gods or, more properly, the minor gods created specific phenomena. Despite some inconsistency with regard to creation or, as it were, multiple creation, it is clear that all the minor gods are at the behest of *ŋenechen*. There is good reason for believing that this has not always been the case—that *ŋenechen* was not always considered the supreme deity—but, in a monograph of this sort, there seems small worth in trying to develop this point. It is apparent that there was a god or culture hero who created man, and today this god is sometimes also credited with having created the earth, sky, and most if not all the phenomena observed by man.

776 The minor gods, while under the control of *ŋenechen*, retain a certain freedom of action. Some of them are described as picaresque, although in no sense malevolent. For example, *kupulwefuche* and his wife, *kupulwekushe*—god and goddess of abundance—do not automatically bestow man with rich crops and herds. They do answer prayers if properly addressed, and [182] they are beseeched to intercede before *ŋenechen* on behalf of mankind. But there are myths and other accounts which indicate their capricious behavior. While they are asked to intercede with *ŋenechen*, *ŋenechen* himself is supplicated to oversee their activities. This kind of double security measure is characteristic of Mapuche customs and general outlook reflected therein, and becomes quite apparent during *ŋillatun* which are directed as a congregational enterprise to *ŋenechen*.

776 769 The surest manner of enlisting the services of these gods is through the intercession of one's lineal ancestors, especially dead chiefs, who are watchful over mankind and who walk the earth in the company of the sons of the gods. The divine, celestially conceived sons of the gods—most importantly, the sons of *kupulwefuche*, the *huehue*—and the spirits of former chiefs return to earth especially to lend assistance to the

(G) Faron, L. C. (1952–1954) 1964
SO4 Araucanians SO4
Mapuche

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Mapuche. Appeal, therefore, to the spirits of the dead (pu am, pu lahn, kuifiche, etc.) is the best way of obtaining the good will of the *[illegible]*. While it is to *ngenechen* that final appeal is made, for only he is able to control the minor gods, the closest ties between man and the supernatural beings (which are clearly discernible as deities of significance) exist between the Mapuche and the regional gods and goddesses. I have already cited the *[illegible]*, supernatural beings accorded varying degrees of importance in different parts of Mapucheland, but known everywhere. I may also mention the gods of the south wind, *huillifucha* and his wife *huillikushe*, who are of especial importance in certain parts of the coastal zone. The principal notion which emerges, despite what may be said about the special importance of these gods for certain regions, is that in the concept of multiple deities is seen a progression from man to deity, expressed on the one hand as a hierarchical ordering of major, minor, and lesser deities, and on the other in the knowledge that all Mapuche may in time become hawks of the sun. Such belief is crucial to the operation of the Mapuche system of religious morality, and is a social fact crucial to its understanding.

While the *[illegible]* may either give or withhold what man asks of them, and are therefore considered somewhat capricious, others of the minor deities are viewed differently. I refer especially to *huillifucha/kushe* (god and goddess of the south wind), *lafkenfucha/kushe* (god and goddess of the sea), *pullumfucha/kushe* or, sometimes, *pillanfucha/kushe* (god and goddess of thunder), *antufucha/kushe* (god and goddess of the sun), and *kuyenfucha/kushe* (god and goddess of the moon). It is mainly with restraining or, rather, channeling the forces of these gods that the people are concerned, and it is to *ngenechen* that they pray in order that their powers be impeded or well directed. As is the case with *ngenechen* and his wife, these minor gods are conceived of as old people and are thought to be invisible.

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While the minor gods are felt to lack restraint, they are by no means equated with the forces of evil—an unthinkable connotation. However, when prayers are not answered, when things "go wrong," the distaff side of the divine pair often bears the brunt of mortal disappointment. Orthodox Mapuche liken the wives

12: Faron E-4,5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

776 562 [754] of the gods to their notion of mortal women, suggesting that they are not wholly reliable and are given to evil-talk or left-talk (respectively: weza and welu thungun). In the case of goddesses, this does not imply sorcery, as it tends to among mortal women, but it means that they influence their divine spouses not in the best interests of mankind. As a reflection of the human situation, in which in-married women are suspect of practicing sorcery on the reservation, the logic of this belief is compelling. It certainly serves as a handy explanation of why even ritually perfect ceremonies may fail to achieve the desired results. While it places, or tends to place, the male gods wholly on the side of good and thus establishes their superiority over the forces of evil and over the distaff side of the divine couples, it nevertheless attributes considerable persuasive power to the female half of the supernatural world. Again, this reflects the relative status of males (agnates) and females (in-married women) on the reservations.

Ancestral Spirits, Authentic and Mythical

775 769 Spirits of the dead may enter into active and sustained relationships with the living and, in so doing, some of them may become contaminated agents of *kalku*. Most ancestral spirits, however, are conceived of as being relatively inactive with regard to the day-to-day affairs of the living. Indeed, they are generally feared when they depart from this traditional role of inactivity. They are pictured as living in the shadow world of afterlife, in surroundings of abundance and ease. They must be propitiated in public or private ritual. They are called upon to intercede before *ñenechen* on behalf of their responsible heirs. Usually, they are considered troublesome should they return to earth, and they may even be driven from the family precincts by proper ritual (*amulpellun*) so that they will not fall victim to *kalku*. Among ancestral spirits, those of greatest importance are the former "chiefs"—elders and founders of lineage groups—who are powerful benefactors of mankind. They walk the earth in the company of the gods, expecially the *karuhua*, and are ever watchful, on the alert to protect and aid their living kinsmen.

769 622 177 When the Mapuche speak of their departed chiefs (*caciques*), it is obvious that they have fallen into the prevailing Chilean mode of expression.

mode of expansion. All accounts (written and oral) reveal that 769
it is not the chief as political leader of a multilineal reservation 622
group who is referred to, but the head of a single lineage 613
therein, a *lonko* who is obligated to watch over his lineal descendants. It is clear that the tie between the living and the dead is directly along lineage lines rather than along heterogeneous reservational (political) lines. This is however, only one aspect.

Another aspect of the relationship to the dead concerns the 794
generalized ancestors, oldtime chiefs of former political impor- 769
tance. This is a more recent concept, that of the ritual 796
congregation and the mythology which sanctions its existence 613
through the weight of moral approval. On the first day of the [622]
ñillatun ceremony, for example, when the heads of the participant lineages assemble in private prayer, each lineage head communes with the *lonko* ancestral to his own line—not as former political leader of the reservation, but as a strictly lineage functionary. On successive days of the *ñillatun* ceremony important *lonko* are again revered in prayer, but in this instance they are prayed to in their role of great politico-military leader of bygone, glorious days—immortalized in the ritual dance called *lonkopurun*. On successive ritual occasions, the most important *lonko* are defined by the host group and, therefore, each participating dominant lineage of the ritual congregation has a turn in which its founder is supplicated both in direct ancestral line with the gods and as political chief of several lineages. As each lineage assumes its duties as host, the purely unilineal status of *lonko* is fused with his political status, his generalized ritual status. But on all occasions, the participant lineages hail their respective *lonko* primarily as kinship elders of their maximal group. Here we see the direct tie-in between the living and their ancestors. To the extent that these august ancestors [622]
are generalized political figures of bygone days, there is also an affinity expressed between them and the entire (heterogeneous) ritual congregation. They are the chiefs who have the welfare of mankind at heart and who walk the earth with the sons of the gods.

I take this generalization to be a latter-day development 794
conditioned by peaceful relationships under the impress of the 178

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

794 reservation system. It manifests a localism absent in prereserva-
178 tion days. It reflects a change in the structure of the ritual congregation and the relationship between ritual participation and the system of matrilateral marriage. Notions of morality have not themselves changed markedly, but larger and more heterogeneous groups have become integrated into what is today a more extensive moral community. These constitute the ritual congregations.

775 There are several, rather ill defined locations considered as the
797 resting places of the dead. Undoubtedly, there has been some
Christian influence in regard to the designation and description
177 of these places. For example, *kutralmapu*, literally "fireland" (*tierra del fuego*) is sometimes said to be the place first visited by the dead, on their journey to *nomelafken* or *wenumapu* (traditional resting places of the dead). But so many Mapuche are quite obviously uncertain about the nature of *kutralmapu* that it emerges as an alien construct with relation to their other beliefs. Most Mapuche have heard of Heaven, Hell, Sin, Satan, Eternal Damnation, Eternal Reward, etc., but there are only a handful who have even an acceptable notion of what these concepts mean to the Christians who spread such words among them. These words, then, seem to be no more than words expressive of concepts which are foreign to the Mapuche but which are employed under certain conditions to translate Mapuche beliefs into Chilean vernacular.

775 *Nomelafken*, or *wenumapu* (used mostly in the eastern sector
192 of Mapucheland), is the final resting place of the dead. Upon
death, the term for soul (*am*) is dropped and either *pellu* or
195 *alwe* is used. *Pellu* is generally used in association with the spirit
[764] during the period between physical demise and burial in the
cemetery, during the wake, the removal of the corpse to its place
[765] of exhibition (temporary burial), and the four days after final (secondary) interment. After final burial, if the people are satisfied that the spirit has begun its journey to the resting place of the dead, the term for soul might change to *alwe* (wandering spirit). When a great measure of finality is noted, further terminological change takes place, and the departed spirit is subsumed within the collective *pu am*, *pu laku*, or the even more generalized *kuifiche*. There it should remain. These terminologi-

cal modifications occur automatically with the context of the 775
conversation about death, burial preparations, and the conclu- 192
sion of the funeral ceremony. 195

Spirits who, through supernatural signs, are believed to linger 775
about the house after death (of the body) are dealt with in the 789
ceremony called *amulpellen*, which may be translated roughly as
"Go, thee, spirit!" This ceremony is designed to drive them
away from the precincts of the living. They are potentially [754]
dangerous because at this time they might fall victim to *kalku*.
This is a period of great uneasiness for the living, who are 775
responsible for the proper treatment of the dead and desirous
that the spirit depart. Since the time factor involved in proper
care of the dead makes immediate departure impossible, the
mourners are always in a state of uncertainty and fear at this
time. If indications of the presence of the spirit do not persist
past the time of final interment, it is assumed that they have
made the regular journey to the other world. Once safely there, 775
the terms used to refer to them or to supplicate them are those 192
employed for all ancestors, indicating that the living have no 195
special concern with their recently departed kinsmen. In all
cases, there are terminological changes which correlate with the
changes in the status of the dead. When the living refer to the
dead as *pu am*, *pu laku*, etc., these terms symbolize a sense of
security, a feeling that the funeral ceremony has been success-
fully enacted and that the dead have passed from the dangerous
state of the recently departed.

The afterworld is a shadow world in the sense that spirits are 775
conceived as misty beings, and their habitat as somewhat
nebulous. Although this, again, might reflect Christian influ- [177]
ence, the basic concept of life-after-death was recorded as an
aboriginal trait by the earliest chroniclers. Ancestral spirits enjoy
an easy and abundant life after death, but not one of complete
leisure. They perform the same kinds of tasks as the living, but
do not have to work as hard or as long. And their work is always
successful, their rewards greater. There is always enough food of
the best kind (meat and wheat bread), ample shelter, fine
traditional clothing, and many other things Mapuche desire in
life. In the afterworld the ancestors live the traditional life.
They do battle, for example, against the Spaniards and Chileans.

775 as evidenced by the thunder (of Spanish cannon) in the sky. They live and dress in the traditional manner. Their tools and other paraphernalia show no Chilean influence. And so forth. Actually, the descriptions of afterlife conjure up a picture of early reservation-period society and culture, by which time a number of important changes had taken place in the Mapuche way of life.

775 787 There is a universal belief among the Mapuche that spirits return to earth and make their presence known in dreams. These are called "dream spirits" (*peuma*), indicating another change in the essence of departed spirits. Sometimes their presence is regarded as a portent of evil—a sign of death, illness, misfortune—especially if a spirit comes in search of a particular person, as revealed in the dream. Still, if the person sought out has no special reason for anxiety, the return of an ancestor might well be considered a good omen, depending on the circumstances of the dream and the events of actual, day-to-day life experienced by the person. The dream is usually tailored to fit the worldly ambition or fear, of one kind or another, of the dreamer. Spirits help their kinsmen locate objects, such as lost animals, misplaced or stolen items of value, and so forth. Such revelation is always interpreted as a good sign. Nevertheless, because it has returned to the world of the living, the danger of a spirit succumbing to the forces of evil is always present.

775 Returned spirits make their presence known in a number of ways besides their appearances in dreams. They remain near the house for the purpose of observing the living, to watch over their former possessions, or to take one of their family with them to the afterworld. People become aware of their presence through unexplained noises, household objects found out of place or knocked over, whisperings in the rafters at night. But there is no pervasive fear of the dead as such. The dead must appear in some guise associated with misfortune before the Mapuche become alarmed, although they are always somewhat uneasy about the possibility of a spirit's falling prey to *kalku*. A person
763 775 who has had imminent death revealed to him by the coming of an ancestral spirit in a dream is not necessarily reduced to a state of panic—although this sometimes occurs—and might react in various ways. An old man or woman might become resigned to

death, especially if the present life has become difficult. Young 763
people, however, do not yield easily to "fate," as an old person 775
might. Resistance to the summoning spirit can take several
forms.

One method, already mentioned, is the staging of *amulpellun*, 775
an encirclement of the house by riders who try to drive away the 789
spirit. If the spirit shows no signs of having departed, it is felt 754
that it might have been captured by a *kalku*. Resort is then
made to the services of a *machi*, who grapples with the forces of
evil in order to rescue the spirit before it is itself converted into a
malevolent being, a ghost. If the case is considered hopeless, if it [756]
is felt that the spirit is irrevocably in the clutches of a *kalku*, the
members of the household again consult a *machi* who advises
them about the performance of certain magical acts which will
protect them. There ensues a period of uneasiness, until one of 775
the members of the household actually sickens and dies or until 787
dreams and other omens indicate that the danger has passed. An 825
infallible omen is the flight of birds—hawks of the sun—at the
propitious moment, and in one or another special direction. If a
troubled person seeks out a sign—usually in the wilderness,
called the *monte*—from ancestral spirits, these may appear to
him in the form of hawks of the sun. If, then, the hawk(s)
describes a number of circles to the right of the supplicant, good
fortune is presaged. If the bird circles to the left, the dream
experience is reinforced or the presence of the ancestral spirit is
interpreted as a sign of certain misfortune.

One might also go to the graves of his ancestors to make a 775
small offering to their spirits and to *ñenechen*. This may occur 787
after a disturbing dream or at any time of crisis. It is customary 763
to tidy one's ancestors' graves as a safeguard against their feeling
neglected by the living. In those cases in which death has been [769]
presaged, this maneuver is recognized as of little efficacy in
averting death. It is merely a general precaution and serves to
smooth out the more petty difficulties of everyday life. If a [756]
person is desperately worried about his fortune, feeling that he
has been marked for death, he will most likely visit a *machi* for
advice and assistance. But this is costly, not always successful,
and always dangerous. It is not resorted to lightly. Therefore, if
the details of the dream or the forecasts do not seem to be borne

175 out during the subsequent days or weeks, a person is tempted to
787 discuss the matter with relatives, especially with knowledgeable
763 elders, eschewing the services of the shaman. If one's relatives
place a harmless interpretation on the omens, the matter comes
to an end with continued good fortune. This occurs with great
frequency, as might be imagined. It is usually not until a person
actually sickens that he seeks out a *machi*.

775 In general, ancestral spirits are felt to live with kindred souls
in the afterworld. The Mapuche do not appear to conceptualize
769 this arrangement in any great detail, at least not without the
encouragement of the visiting anthropologist. They speak of the
social relationships among their ancestors in a vague and general
manner, merely stating that "things" are pretty much as they are
in Mapucheland, except that life in the afterworld is easier and
better. It seems of significance that ancestral chiefs look after
the well-being of the living, not the dead. In turn the responsibility
for the eternal ease or beatitude of the dead lies
with the living. The social structure of the ancestral world is,
therefore, clearly meshed with that of contemporary Mapuche
society and is not an entity completely apart. These pneumatic
ancestral spirits, after all, comprise direct links between mortals
and the major and minor deities.

As already indicated, it is of analytic value to make a
769 distinction between degrees of relationship between the living
776 and the dead. A word at this point, therefore, may not be amiss
with regard to mythical and authentic ancestors, and the ranks
[184] of deity. Mythical ancestors are included among those generalized
deities supplicated on a regional, but apparently not on a
pan-Mapuche, basis. For example, two ancestral figures who
drowned in the Toltén River near where it empties into the
Pacific Ocean are today visible in the form of birds (hawks of
the sun) which occasionally appear at the *ñillatun* ceremonies
held by the residents of the region. Genealogies have obviously
been fabricated with respect to these figures, and they are what I
consider generalized ancestors, regional deities of the lower
769 echelon, figments of a maturing, local mythology. They are one
776 step in the hierarchy above authentic ancestors, also shrouded in
myth, who head distinct descent groups among the contempo-
794 rary Mapuche. Strong lineal ties are expressed between members
61 of descent groups and their authentic ancestors, regardless of

whatever manipulations have taken place with respect to genealogies. 769
The range of kinship ties between living Mapuche and 776
the mythical, regional ancestors, however, is more diffuse, 794
broader, and includes a large number of descent groups. These [61]
larger units I call "ritual congregations." They are not clans, in
any accepted sense. It is simply that in moving outward from the
clearly definable patrilineal descent group to the ritual congregation
we find a connection with other deities of a more general
importance to the local population, a connection of nonspecific,
ethnic importance, rather than one of a narrow genetic nature.
While these deities may be known to all Mapuche, regardless of 769
region, they are deemed of especially close relationship by 776
Mapuche of a particular region. They may be shared by people 794
of more than one ritual group, or congregation, as for example 184
are the god and goddess of the south wind along much of the
Pacific coast. But among one congregational unit such deities
are taken as generalized ancestors, and among others they are
merely part of the pantheon, with no special concern for the
living, and to whom the living do not express any especial need
to fabricate connecting links. In this latter sense, they are
generalized forces, rather than genetic personifications of power.

The local, mythical ancestral gods, therefore, are bound by tenuous ties of kinship to regional blocks of Mapuche. Descent is employed as a concept of ethnic solidarity, rather than in an exact genetic sense. These bonds are stretched to a point in time during which the Mapuche and Mapucheland were created, or to a time in the remote past subsequent to the initial struggle between the forces of good and evil (Tren Tren and Kai Kai), in which mankind (Mapuche) emerged in control of the world. Today, large congregations recognize the same generalized, mythical ancestors in the absence of any recognized bonds of kinship, although some of the units of the congregation are directly linked through bonds of marriage in the matrilateral system. Relationships are couched in terms of descent, but they are based on locality and, to a large measure, on the web of marital ties. Exactly which of the local deities are propitiated at any *ñillatun* ceremony is a matter of regional identification, a feature which helps define the extension of the regional congregation.

There is regional overlapping in the propitiation of these

769 mythical ancestral deities, which appears to have considerable
776 analytic significance. An example will serve to indicate some-
794 thing of this. The god of thunder, usually called *pillan*,
sometimes *trakalfucha*, is supplicated in and near the Andes as
184 an ancestral deity by a number of congregations. There he takes
on the characteristics of a regional deity. The god of thunder, under the same or other names, is known but neither similarly conceived nor propitiated by the coastal populations. The god of the south wind is everywhere important along the coast, is taken as a mythical ancestor by some of the central coastal groups but, although known as a deity by the Andean congregations, does not receive pan-Mapuche veneration. In the mountains, one learns that the god of the south wind is a specifically coastal god. There are even finer distinctions between regional affiliations to minor and mythical ancestral deities, with noticeable overlapping among geographically proximate units of the population.

769 Part of this local overlapping, which sometimes gives the
impression of confusion, is, I believe, a result of a gradation
776 between authentic and mythical ancestral spirits, something
184 which possibly has been expressed in innumerable shiftings of
loyalty during the long-recorded Mapuche history. The relative importance of any deity or set of gods changes over time. The most obvious and most easily traced changes take place with respect to the lesser gods. Full deification, for example, and later regional generalization, comes about as a result of first, genealogical manipulation and second, inadequate (oral) recording of relationships. I will return to this matter in a later chapter. Here, though, I might add that a congregation propitiates these half-forgotten ancestors outside the regular framework of lineal descent, and that this is not fully recognized by the Mapuche. It is usually said that such-and-such an ancestor-god lived in the area long ago, in the time of the Spanish wars, when Mapuche lived to be several hundred years of age. An attempt is made to place the mundane existence of these ancestor-gods at a time of the re-creation myth (see p. 75).

769 The process leading to ancestral deification emerges when
613 dealing with the upper generations of lineage organization, and
only then. Apart from this, this is no confusion in establishing

continuity between the living and the dead, their authentic 769
ancestors. This is true even though, as mentioned before, there 613
is ample evidence that genealogical manipulation is an ongoing process and that, in general, the number of generations
between supposedly historical events and the present have been
compressed to serve the needs of local groups. Authentic
ancestors are always mentioned by name or by designations
such as grandfather, great-grandfather, and so on, and continuity
of generations, even though of questionable genealogical accuracy, is always expressed in the comparatively exact idiom of
kinship. This is taken as fact by the Mapuche. In contrast, [776]
ñenechen and, to a certain extent, the minor deities are [794]
figuratively classed as "father," a flexibility which makes for
much greater inclusiveness with respect to the composition of
any congregational unit, in contrast to specific unilineal kingroups.

As a group, authentic ancestors are supplicated as *kuifiche* or 769
kuifipellu. It is clear from context that these words connote "our 776
direct lineal ancestors." These spirits are propitiated in the great 794
ñillatun rite, mainly as intercessors before *ñenechen* and before 184
whatever other minor deities are of importance for the local
congregation on any specific ritual occasion; but they are not the
center of attention. In the *ñillatun* ceremony, it is the generalized ancestors, the local regional gods, and the creator,
ñenechen, which command the people's attention. Authentic
ancestors serve smaller groups of greater homogeneity and are
most intimately involved in funeral ceremonies and in the
continual tug of war between shaman and sorcerer. This seems
to indicate that although all ritual action rests on the firm belief
in the connection between the living and their own ancestors,
the Mapuche recognize that regional congregational ceremonies
and funerals are of a different order; that while the same
persons, or segments of the regularly participating group, tend to
interact on all ritual occasions, the organization is differently
conceived for *ñillatun* and for *awn*. An examination of the social
action involved in these ceremonies, in relation to their symbolic
correlates, takes us to the very heart of the Mapuche system of
religious morality. But that is a task for subsequent chapters.

Hawks of the sun are tethered to specific unilineal kingroups. 000

of the sun are tethered to specific unilineal kingroups.
769 When the bonds which hold them are loosed or broken because
775 of some infraction of the moral code—caused by the negligence
776 of their heirs—they are in danger of being ensnared by wily
754 sorcerers and forced to perform evil deeds in the night. Once in
the clutches of a sorcerer the spirit is completely and eternally
[613] helpless. There is no way back for the spirit, no way in which its
[784] living relatives are able to free it from serving evil or from doing harm to them. However, the living are still able to ward off the general forces of evil, of which this spirit has recently become a part. They may resort to the services of one or another ritual specialist, depending on how the threat of evil is conceived. In effect, then, the living are able to propitiate the dead to protect themselves against the dead and against the other forces of evil—all spirits who have fallen under the influence of *kalku* and the freewheeling powers of malignancy. This is a reassuring conceptualization of the powers of good magic over black. But once any particular spirit has fallen and has become converted to a ghost, it remains evil and continues to inflict harm on anyone, usually at the behest of a *kalku*, sometimes at its own discretion, always to obtain its victim's blood. The contaminated spirit is no longer identifiable as a specific ancestor. It is invisible, but it may be seen on occasion by humans in one of several stereotyped forms that it may assume. Once contaminated, it becomes a force of generalized evil.

769 And so, the living have to be careful to propitiate the dead in
776 order that at least an effective number of their own ancestors
remain watchful over them. Th[illegible]e, *ipso facto*, ancestral spirits of greatest social signific[illegible]and include a line of chiefs and former warriors. They are the long-dead authentic ancestors who, it appears, eventually become mythical, generalized deities. The reciprocal obligations which constitute the backbone of Mapuche morality bind the living and the dead through eternity, provided they are not brok[illegible] by the extinction of the lineage or the ritual congregation.

613 Patrilineages are the primary units involved in the definition
769 of rights and obligations surrounding marriage, bridewealth, and the celebration of all life crises. The sanctions for these relationships are always supernatural and depend on direct linkage to the ancestral spirits; they are clearly among the most

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important sets of rights and duties operative in Mapuche 613
society. And these relationships are most dramatic with respect 769
to death rites and their correlative ceremonies of birth and naming. In the naming ceremony (*lakutun*) the child is [553]
symbolically identified with one of his ancestors in the paternal [585]
line. Upon marriage, there comes about a significant shifting of ancestral loyalties and obligations, or an extension of these. This is a reorganization which remains subliminal in the marriage ceremony itself, and becomes fully expressed only in subsequent congregational attitudes and activities associated with birth, death, and the supernatural world, which involves paired sets of matrimonial groups. In a very real sense, the Mapuche drama of life begins with the release of an ancestral spirit.

Supernatural Beliefs Defined 776

Not appearing on the surface, and not readily acknowledged by the Mapuche to outsiders, is a prevailing concern with a host of lesser supernatural beings and malignant forces. There is an undercurrent of supernatural beliefs which affects even the most acculturated of the reservation Mapuche, and which comes to the surface mainly in time of stress, when omens are interpreted and supernatural explanations resorted to.

The Mapuche world is viewed as being inhabited by many 775
malevolent spirits. Outside Mapucheland, the exact location 776
sometimes conceived as an island (*nomelafken*) far to the west and sometimes as a place in the sky (*wenumapu*), are found the vast majority of benevolent ancestral spirits. These spirits—hawks of the sun—on occasion descend to earth and return to Mapucheland, either to remind their kinsmen of certain neglected obligations or to assist them in various ways. Benevolent ancestral spirits may be characterized as pneumatic, and may be otiose, but they are capable of becoming active in that sphere of the supernatural which connects man and god. This is in contrast to animistic spirits, which are embodiments of evil in the universe. All spirits, however, good, bad, or indifferent, are numinous.

Personal misfortune sharpens one's awareness of the existence 777
of evil and reinforces supernatural beliefs. General misfortune 782
involving flood, crop failure, large-scale death of animals, and

777 the like is not attributed to any specific force of evil, but rather
782 to a pervading malevolence and a feeling that *ñenechen* has
been insufficiently or imperfectly propitiated. There is a partial
acceptance of hardship and an attempt to supplicate *ñenechen*
in public ceremonial, in order to control the machinations of the
[791] collective *wekufe*, generalized evil. Failure of ceremonial appeal
may result in some diminution of faith in the efficacy of the
[793] priest (*ñillatufe*) who conducts the ritual, but it does not seem
to lessen belief in the general body of religious lore and ritual
[754] action. If anything, it seems to heighten concern with sorcery
and the forces of evil that plague humanity. The failure of
[789] public ritual in some cases encourages persons to seek additional
individual protection through shamanistic assistance.

776 *Wekufe* is the generic term for all malevolent spirits and
775 forces in the world. As a descriptive device, since the Mapuche
do not order as much as they lump these forces of evil, they may
be categorized as animistic and placed into three groups:
animals, natural phenomena, and ghosts. Any evil spirit has the
power, or is able through the manipulation of a *kalku*, to assume
the form of a being representative of any of the three groups,
and to make itself visible and invisible at will. These spirits or
forces are abroad mostly at night, although they may be active in
754 the daytime as well. They are all at some time or other under the
control of a sorcerer, but if mistreated they have enough power
775 of their own to operate freely against her, should she be
776 off-guard. They may even be able to kill her. Although there is a
general feeling that witches never die, there is the contradictory
notion that they may be killed through the agency of the forces
[756] they have failed to control. Shamans may thwart the designs of
witches, but they are seldom felt to have enough power to kill
them, that is, make a witch's familiar spirits consume her. After
683 all the bits of data are sifted, Mapuche logic forces the
[811] conclusion that the only way a *kalku* may die, without being
killed by a rebellious spirit, is to be executed by a human with
[613] the consent of a local descent group. But even with regard to
this matter there is not complete agreement, some Mapuche
feeling that only the corporeal part of the witch is destroyed,
while the evil soul remains to cause grief elsewhere. Formerly, as
[778] described in the literature and in oral accounts, witches were

burned and dismembered at the order of a *lonko*. Nowadays 683
they are simply driven from the community, since the people [178]
fear reprisal from the Chilean government. At least in one [648]
litigation in the Chilean courts, a Mapuche woman was cleared of responsibility for murdering a suspected witch since, the judge held, such action was in conformance with traditional belief.

Animal Forms. The forms which evil forces may assume 776
are multiple and highly varied. Only the most common ones will be discussed here. All are harmful, both to humans and animals,
and they almost always suck the blood of their victim. They [774]
contaminate the essence of the creature by attacking its substance, and the inevitable result of a successful attack is the loss of the creature's soul and its eventual possession by a sorcerer. The contaminated soul or spirit in turn acquires an insatiable desire for blood. The control and recruitment of evil beings is thus circular and unending.

The more common forms are mainly animals of the field and 776
forest, perhaps with certain distorted characteristics, but there 825
are also a few unnatural forms which combine either parts of two animals or animal and human parts. Among these latter is the *chonchon*, described as a bird with a human head, sometimes said to be the evil incarnation of a practicing sorcerer. *Piwichen* sometimes takes the form of a cock, sometimes a snake with wings, and in either form thrives on human or animal blood. *Waillepen* is described as a large beast of the forest, capable of changing into a sheep or into the combined form of a sheep and cow. It lives in the swampy woods and harms people and animals at the time of birth, causing them to be crippled or blind. The afflicted person, the victim, is sometimes called *waillepen*. Variations on this theme are innumerable.

Actual birds, such as the *pequen, concon, killkill, huelen,* 825
wuthwuth, juree, perimo, and others are harbingers of evil, birds 787
of the night who pass over houses or sing near them, portending misfortune and death. They are of little or no significance if seen in the daytime, provided they do not linger near one's house after sundown. Nor are they greatly feared when heard to sing in the fields or woods at a distance from the house. The day birds of evil omen are the *loika* and *pitrin*. The *wilki, tregul*, and

825 *witifta* are birds of good omen, especially when they appear and 787 sing near the house. They have no specific powers, but their presence is a good sign.

776 *Arumko* and *shompalwe* are considered human forms with animal attributes. The former is frog-like or reveals itself as a swamp creature on one occasion, then as an *anchimallen* (a small ghost-like figure) on another. There is a certain logic to this apparent contradiction which, however, belongs to a discussion of mythology per se and will not be discussed in this book. The *shompalwe* is most often described as a young maiden (although sometimes as a handsome young man) who lives in streams and lakes and lures young men into her watery domain. She is thought of as the mistress or owner of fishes.

821 *Natural Phenomena.* *Cherufe* comprise such natural phenomena as fireballs, comets, shooting stars and other aerolites, 787 whirlwinds, stone axes (supposedly descended from the sky), and innumerable animate and inanimate natural objects. The Mapuche believe everything in nature has a spirit of its own. Generally at the behest of sorcerers these objects are sent to inflict illness or death, but they are also conceived of as capable of operating independently of *kalku* and causing hardship randomly. Some of them are equated with the Chilean *duende*, and there is a tendency to generalize *duende* to cover all *wekufe* [372] as well. Fire emanating from *cherufe* portends death when [763] passing near a house; at a distance it signifies trouble elsewhere.

Ghosts. While the Mapuche do not have a generic word to 775 designate "ghost," they describe certain beings with the attributes associated with ghosts, as the word is used in English. Ghosts are evil, by Mapuche definition, and not confused with benevolent departed human spirits, although they are recruited from the ranks of ancestral spirits. There would seem to be an overlap between animistic and pneumatic spirits in the connection and some contradiction in what Mapuche believe about ancestral spirits. The contradiction or overlap lends itself to an interesting explanation. Ghosts are no longer, properly speaking, ancestors, but the contaminated essence of persons who died [858] and were captured by sorcerers. This is especially so of children who died before the naming ceremony (*lakutun*) and received [553] no formal status in Mapuche society. Females do not undergo a

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Females do not undergo a naming ceremony, which might possibly account for the high 775 correlation between "evil" and "female." Be that as it may, the [553] greatest fear of a dying man is that he will have no close [562] kinsmen to propitiate his spirit, a concern which underscores the [769] Mapuche desire for many sons and their despair that young [152] people are emigrating from the reservations. In any case, in the transition from ancestral spirit to ghost, a qualitative change takes place in the essence of the being. There are no evil [754] ancestral spirits in Mapucheland; the evil spirits are ghosts which have become tools of the witch and whose essence has become contaminated. Therefore, when souls of the dead become evil, they automatically become *wekufe* and/or ghosts. In a later chapter I will discuss this matter in relation to ancestor propitiation.

Witranalwe (i.e. *witran*: strange or alien; *alwe*: spirit) and *anchimallen* are ghosts in human-like form. They can make themselves invisible at will, and can also transform themselves into other forms of *wekufe* as the need arises. *Witranalwe* are the most forbidding of the two and are generally described as larger than human in size, dressed in black or white clothing, and mounted on a huge horse. *Anchimallen* are small ghosts, usually dressed in white, which are either fully or partly luminescent. *Witranalwe* are ghosts of dead adults as *anchimallen* are ghosts of dead children. Both are under the control of 754 *kalku* who have spirited them from the burial ground under 775 various circumstances. Like the other forms of *wekufe*, however, they have a measure of freedom of action, likewise attributed to a slackening of alertness or loss of power on the part of the *kalku*. They may kill their mistress if she is not wary or powerful enough to satiate their desire for fresh blood.

Both are abroad mostly at night. A *witranalwe* is terrifying enough to kill people simply by passing close to them on the roads where it gallops on a charging horse. One can escape a *witranalwe* by outriding it, but that is possible only when the ghost is acting as a free agent, not when it is at the command of a witch. When the *witranalwe* is under a witch's direction, it proceeds to the victim's house and, circling it several times on horseback, causes death to the intended victim. It is able to change size, to become very large, and to jump its horse over the

754 house. Only the person who is about to die sees this spectacle,
775 usually in delirium. The *witranalwe* sometimes serves to guard its mistress' (or master's) animals. Its bad odor frightens away
[754] both humans and dogs. It is so used by witches and some shamans, for which reason shamans are felt to be dangerous and to have certain inclinations in common with sorcerers.

775 The *anchimallen* travels by foot along the byways and is distinguished by its glow, which appears to be floating a few feet above the ground. Some Mapuche say that only the little finger of the captured spirit (of a child) is used by the *kalku* in bringing the *anchimallen* into existence, and that this finger is seen to glow like a lighted cigarette or a firefly. Others believe that all the bones of the infant, or their essential form, are used, and that the entire skeleton glows, giving off a diffused light which appears as a white vestment. When the *anchimallen* passes a house it emits fire from its mouth and is sometimes mistaken for [illegible]. Many [illegible] arguments result from different interpretations among the members of a household or neighborhood. *Anchimallen* and *witranalwe* desire human and animal blood, which they need for their daily sustenance, but they also imbibe alcohol and eat food consumed
[177] by the Mapuche themselves. Mapuche who have become somewhat influenced by Christian teachings tend to translate (at least for the anthropologist's benefit) *witranalwe* and *anchimallen* into Spanish as manifestations of Satan, who, in turn, they call *pillan*, in the manner of missionaries working in the indigenous area.

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775 The words *pullu*, *am*, *alwe*, *aiwin*, and *la* are all equated in one or another dictionary or ethnographic study with the Spanish concept of *alma*, soul.[1] Souls in the various states indicated by these five words have different attributes. *Am* is used in conjunction with souls of the living and, occasionally, with

[114] [1] It is with this in mind, apparently, that Titiev cites the Mapuche belief in "multiple souls," which is hardly an explanation of the Mapuche idea. Multiple souls is a rather misleading designation. Mapuche do not believe in the simultaneous existence of several souls. Rather, they feel that a departed spirit may enter several ethereal states. This is partly a progression from life to death, partly a change in the quality of spiritual essence after death.

ancestral spirits "at rest." *Alwe* serves to characterize wandering 774
spirits of the dead, as in the concept *witranalwe*, a soul or spirit 775
doomed to, or in danger of, earthbound existence, as the captive of a witch. *Pellu* is used almost exclusively for the soul which is felt to linger around the corpse during the days between death and final burial. The term *wesa pellu*, evil spirit, suggests that the soul can become bothersome and even dangerous if it lingers too long.

Encounters with Malevolent Forces

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Malevolent forces are everywhere present, but sentient contact 776
with them is seldom direct or at close quarters. When it is, the individual is almost always overwhelmed and dies. People found dead along the road or in the fields and woods are considered the victims of direct and overwhelming contact with the forces of evil. More often, however, persons merely have brushes with the supernatural—narrow escapes—and live to tell of their experience. In dreams one also encounters malevolent spirits who 787
might capture one's soul under the direction of a *kalku*. But 776
there are also beneficent spirits in the dream world, encounters
with which are taken as a good omen. The most frequently [B25]
observed supernatural agents, though, are malevolent night birds, seen or heard near one's house. Their observation, or the mere suspicion of their presence, has an electric effect in the household, and it is on these occasions that the most detailed and hair-raising stories are told about encounters with the supernatural. A few examples follow.

One night we were sitting around the fire, wondering if we should go to bed. Suddenly, the family became quite still and alert and immediately rushed outside the house, some carrying pieces of firewood. They threw sticks at a tree near the dwelling and shouted the name of a bird, *wutlwutk*. Although I ran outside too, I could neither see nor hear the bird. Presently, we all returned to the fireside and my hosts continued to reminisce about supernatural experiences for several hours, postponing sleep until almost dawn. While all encounters with night birds are not as dramatic as this one was, they never fail to invoke a restless and anxious feeling among the people, which

787 776 seems to be somewhat dissipated by telling stories of other episodes of a similar nature. These events are also told to neighbors and circulate in the community and beyond.

795 787 539 The following tale is one which concerns an encounter with witranalwe. It is a generally-known story, and of especial interest because it illustrates certain behavior not predictable on the basis of formal kinship relationships. It involves trickery between two young men and their father's brother, in which a supernatural agent was effectively dealt with and induced to turn against his master, the paternal uncle, a rare example of a male sorcerer.

In the environs of Pitrufquén, there lived a rather wealthy man who had many animals. He also had a witranalwe to guard them in his absence. Near this wealthy man lived two of his brother's sons, who were poor.

One day, the rich man visited his nephews' house. They all began to drink a lot of wine and became a little drunk by late afternoon. They began to feel hungry, but the nephews had nothing to serve the old man. They decided to steal a couple of sheep from the corral of their uncle. One said to the other that he was a rich old man and that stealing one of his sheep, perhaps even two, did not matter much. They went to the uncle's corral together, leaving the old man in their house drinking.

When they arrived, they saw a huge figure on horseback. The man wore a very large, black hat. He had a large mouth and long, sharp teeth, and a big, penetrating set of eyes. He wore a Spanish poncho, also large and black; and he had a set of silver spurs with great rowels. Upon seeing him, one of the nephews ran away, but the other, who had a sheep under his arm, stood stock still before him. He fearfully asked, "Who are you, caballero?" The answer came in a very low and deep voice: "I am the partner of the owner of these sheep." The nephew then said that the owner of the sheep was his uncle and, therefore, "Señor, we are like kinsmen."

After this, the young man took a little more courage and spoke further to the witranalwe: "Señor, why not let me take this sheep for the fiesta in my house? My uncle is a very wealthy man, and the loss of one little lamb, which he himself will eat part of, will not matter to him?" The witranalwe answered in a very deep voice, "Alright, but I want a bowl of ñachi [blood] when you kill the animal."

The young man assented to this demand, at the same time 775
asking the witranalwe to help him carry the sheep back to the 789
house. As soon as they arrived at the young man's house, he
told the witranalwe to return in a little while for the blood. The 539
nephew killed the sheep and drained the blood into a wooden bowl. *He* set both the bowl and a pitcher of wine outside the house for the witranalwe. The witranalwe approached at a gallop, drank the ñachi at one gulp, and then tossed off the wine. When he finished, he galloped off to the uncle's corral to keep watch over his master's sheep. *He* never revealed the secret to his master.

There is a good deal of bravado in this account, but it is 775
apparent from this and similar stories that ordinary people can 789
deal successfully with supernatural agents, provided they are alert, courageous, and take advantage of what the situation offers. Other encounters with witranalwe are often more lugubrious, but I have heard rather humorous stories as well. The Mapuche jokingly call witranalwe the mounted Chilean policemen, who sometimes ride the roads at night between towns,
dressed in their white tunics and astride large army horses. It 775
seems not so much a matter of individual mood and attitude 789
about supernatural encounters that accounts for a sprinkling of 522
levity in recounting tales of meetings with witranalwe and other wekufe, as it does the specifics of the situation. The situation is the governing factor. Alone at night, the specter is terrifying. After a startling experience, people can return to the relative security of the fireside and make jokes about the evil spirits.
They are omnipresent, however, and must be dealt with continually. [578]
The details of the story of the uncle and his nephews lend themselves to an interpretation dealing with feelings of hostility against authority figures, such as the paternal uncle.

People are captured bodily by certain spirits, one of which is 776
the shompalwe described earlier. In the Licanray region, south 787
of Lake Villarrica, there was a tale being told during my 752
residence of a young woman lost to a male shompalwe. A woman's foot was discovered near a mountain stream, and people in the vicinity remembered hearing a strange cry from that locality some weeks before, while walking the road at night. The girl is said to have gone to the stream to place a food

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776 787 752 [782] [777] [122]

74 girl is said to have gone to the [illegible] to make an offering for the shompalwe, in order to obtain fishing luck for herself and her family. She went to an out-of-the-way place, where someone was supposed to have been captured by one of these spirits, for in this way the best results are obtained. In the opinion of most people I spoke to this action branded the girl as a potential sorcerer. Some referred to her as *kalku*, others merely as [illegible] (mean or wrong-headed). Others among the local people felt that a mountain lion had killed her and that she had been devoured by lions and other animals, but the majority, including the young Mapuche with whom I was living (a Protestant missionary apprentice), were convinced that the shompalwe had taken all but her foot into the water to live with him. No one would look very closely for other remains. No funeral ceremony was held, even though her parents were able to identify the foot by the shoe.

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It is commonly believed that the soul (*am*) is able to leave the body during sleep or illness. When it does under either circumstance, it runs the risk of being taken captive by a witch, and the body is in danger of dying. Shamans, however, are able to recall or recover the soul of a sick person, especially that of a conscious client who responds to massage, cold-shock applications, and herbal infusions (if these are able to be administered), thereby preventing death. Soul loss is a recurrent theme in stories of illness, although not the only cause of sickness and death. Intrusive black magic is also practiced by sorcerers, sickness being caused by all forms of *wekufe* and by evil spirits who appear in dreams. There is little evidence of actual poisoning, however, in the sense of one person placing poison in the food or drink of an intended victim. Such practices are referred to, although infrequently, but it is doubtful if the substance administered is really fatal.

[538] 754 [682]

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Ancestral spirits which return to Mapucheland and are captured by *kalku*, or those which never succeed in making the transition to the heavenly spirit world and thus become contaminated before leaving earth, are by definition forces of evil. They are invisible, except insofar as they are transformed into salamanders and other forms of animals, or when they return in dreams as spectral forms. They are literally bloodsuckers, and they bring ultimate death to their victims. They are ugly, except

for the [illegible], and after once killing their first victim they 775
become insatiable, continually on the prowl to obtain victims. 776

Visions of departed kinsmen in dreams do not necessarily 787
mean one will become ill, as I have already indicated, but they
do have an unsettling effect on the dreamer. Dreams of good 753
omen are discussed with relatives, whose agreement is sought
that the dream is without doubt a good one. Because there is
nearly always some feeling that ancestors could have been
treated better in life and propitiated more often and with more
care in death, people tend to feel unsure of their appearances in
dreams. If there is not full agreement about the import of a [769]
dream, a person usually pours frequent libations and offers [756]
personal prayers to his ancestors, and one might even seek the
counsel of a shaman before the ill effects of the dream are
actually experienced. There is a margin of safety present, since
the effect of a bad dream as well as that of all black magic works
slowly. One, therefore, has to have recurrent dreams of ill omen,
or has to be repeatedly exposed to magical harm, before illness
takes firm hold. However, an individual who deliberates on his
evil fortune is prone to interpret minor adversity as serious omen
and actually sickens from fear. The shaman, then, is the only [755]
available recourse.

Key Origin Myths

Mapuche mythology is rich and varied, pan-Mapuche myths 773
having many local expansions. I have selected these myths from [128]
this large inventory in order to show particularly the fundamental nature of Mapuche mythology and to indicate how this relates (as it does not in all cases) to notions of morality—good, evil, and redemption.

The import of local variations is sociological rather than culturological. The basic theme of the first myth, that of Tren Tren and Kai Kai, variations on which are reported in all important works on the Mapuche, is common knowledge to all Mapuche. The local expansions or variations involve the fabrication of linkage between contemporary Mapuche and their supposed ancestral progenitors, the founders of the Mapuche "race." This fabrication is of the same order as genealogical
manipulation, mentioned in the previous chapter. It is a binding [182]

773 182 mechanism, drawing Mapuche together in the context of kinship.

539 184 The two versions of the Tren Tren and Kai Kai myth which follow indicate the specifics of local modification, especially when compared to accounts found in other ethnographies. The first version is a Central Valley modification, one of several.

Tren Tren is a large mountain in a range which runs between Galvarino and Temuco. Kai Kai was a huge serpent with three arms, which were trees, and a tail that was rooted in the ground. There is a lake high up on Tren Tren, which was the house of Kai Kai. Kai Kai had the head of a huge ox. When its eyes were open, it was asleep; and when its eyes were shut, it was awake. People used to come every once in a while to hit Kai Kai's tail with sticks. Kai Kai would awaken, and its eyes would close. Kai Kai was the chief of all the animals. Then, one day, the people molested Kai Kai too much, and Kai Kai led all the animals away. Kai Kai led them into the air. They did not fly away, but just walked into the air. No one knows where they went, but they are the spirit protectors [pillan] of all living animals.

The second version, from the Toltén region along the coast, is as follows:

Tren Tren was a hill and also a good spirit which helped people. Kai Kai was a sea bird, an evil spirit, who used to enjoy harming people. This is how Tren Tren saved the Mapuche and vanquished evil. One day Kai Kai decided to wipe out all the Mapuche, and caused the sea to rise until the land was flooded. Many people managed to climb Tren Tren with their animals, and the wild animals followed. When Kai Kai said "kai, kai, kai, kai," the sea rose until it nearly covered the top of Tren Tren and threatened all the people and animals thereon. Upon seeing this, Tren Tren rose still higher. This continued until Tren Tren reached its present height and all the sea water was used up. Kai Kai was beaten. Thus, all the people and animals that had climbed Tren Tren were safe. This shows how powerful Tren Tren was. He conquered Kai Kai and saved the people.

539 In the first version, as in several others, there is no obvious connection made of a relationship between the contemporary Mapuche and Tren Tren. Nor is Tren Tren a force either of

good or evil, but is neutral, being merely the setting for the action between humans and Kai Kai. Kai Kai is, at most, lord of the animals, and not an evil character by any means. But Kai Kai does seem to punish people and, this myth, taken along with others from the same region, suggests on internal evidence that Kai Kai is attributed characteristics opposed to the best interests of mankind. Tren Tren, however, is not depicted as the savior of mankind or as the founder of the contemporary Mapuche. The second version, however, portrays both figures as symbolic of good and evil in the Mapuche universe. We see Tren Tren as a generalized ancestor, a god-figure. The story ends in the vanquishment of evil and the inheritance of Mapucheland by the forebears of its present indigenous occupants. 539

The following myth, again one of a type; is one which relates even more specifically the contemporary Mapuche of the locality to a generalized ancestor-god. This myth also accounts for the origin of the *ñillatun* ceremony, for which there are various origin myths in other regions. It is also representative of the conquest of good over evil, and the redemption of the now godlike figures involved, as well as their descendants. The Toltén version is the story of Tramaleufu and Winkaleufu (in the period the myth originated *winka* meant plunderer or or raider). It is presented in greatly abbreviated form from the way it is usually told (accounts which I heard lasted as long as one and a half hours). 539 184

There were two men from this part [around Toltén] who set out one day to cross the wide part of the river. The current carried them out to sea, and they turned over and drowned. There were many mourners, the relatives of these men, who felt great remorse at their untimely death. These men were well liked, and were leaders [lonko] of their people. 539

In Quilliche [between Villarrica and the modern town of Loncoche] there lived a powerful kalku, who sent a message to the mourners. The message said that the kalku would promise, upon one condition, to return the two men to their families, to return them unharmed. The condition was this: the mourners had to come to the house of the kalku within four days after receiving the message. Because of the great distance and the lack of roads, the mourners were unable to arrive before the

539 *eighth day. The kalku said that they had delayed too long, and that from then on the spirits of the two drowned men would be evil spirits in her command. She had taken the men from the sea and placed them in the Volcano Villarrica, where she had her reñü. She told the mourners that there the spirits would remain, and that from then on they would cause great harm to people. They would create great floods or periods of drought, which would ruin the crops of their people, and which would cause many animals to die. The mourners returned to the coast to await the witch's prediction.*

One day, four days after arriving in Toltén, two nameless birds appeared to the mourners. These birds nodded their heads in greeting, and told the people that they would take the names of Tramaleufu and Winkaleufu, and would succeed in breaking the kalku's control over them. This was on the condition that the people would thereafter stage a ñillatun ceremony for their benefit each year on this day. They first used the word ñillatun. The people adopted the word and have held the ceremony every year since that time long ago. This is the way ñillatun originated among the Mapuche.

[776] The next story partially accounts for the origin of a refractive image of the sea god, *lafkenfucha,* whose image is deified as a generalized ancestor by certain groups along the coast south of Toltén. This figure's name is Manquián, and the myth is as follows.

Many years ago there lived a man by the name of Manquián. He was a shellfisher, and he lived near the beach. One day, when he was in the water, his feet became stuck to two rocks in the following manner. One foot stuck to a rock, and the other was free. When Manquián managed to free his foot, the other became fixed to the rock. This happened over and over again. Finally, both feet became stuck fast to two rocks. Manquián was unable to move from the place. He cried out to his people to help him.

Many of his people came to see him. Many shamans came to hold a great machitun. It was a very solemn occasion. The people burned many offerings of meat and sacrificed animals of all kinds. The machitun lasted three days, and during this time Manquián partook of the meat. Then Manquián began to turn gradually to stone. One day he turned to stone up to *his ankles, the next day up to the middle of his calf, and so on. When he became stone up to his stomach, he was no longer able to eat and he told the people not to bring him any more meat. He told his people to burn the meat, so that the smoke would rise up to the sky and nourish his spirit, when he turned completely to stone and died. He told them to return to their houses afterward. They did his bidding.* 539

Manquián was turned to stone from head to foot. This stone Manquián, now a ñenechen, is no longer visible from the shore. The people believe that he is lord of the sea, a fisher of souls and protector of his people. He has much power and we offer him meat every year, when there is ñillatun. [782]

Again, this myth attempts to account for a close kinship bond between the local inhabitants, Manquián's people, and their god of the sea. Manquián is identified with the pan-Mapuche sea god, *lafkenfucha*, and appears as a local manifestation of him. There are numerous other accounts of this sort in other regions—coast, valley, and mountains—all of which serve to bring the gods within the system of lineal filiation and thereby reinforce the traditional sanctions of Mapuche morality. I state this in purposive terms, because to argue whether the concept is or was a conscious fabrication or simply an unconscious development is meaningless to this study. 539 776

Three: DEATH AND FERTILITY RITES

796 THE religious ceremonials and otherworld notions held
182 by the Mapuche are among the most stabilizing forces
operative in their society. How they have changed will
be discussed in the concluding section of this chapter, as well
as in the final chapter. But regardless of change, their symbolic
value is of enduring cohesive power, and changes which have
occurred in both ritual and belief are consonant with the
structure of Mapuche society. It is likely that only since the
reservation system brought the Mapuche into blocks of contiguous,
immobilized communities in the indigenous zone has
religion pulled them together in such large numbers. In this
[128] chapter, I would like to examine the rationale and the cultural
dress of Mapuche ritual, the ideological framework of the structure
of religious morality.

571 Funeral observances and fertility rites account for the greatest
796 assemblages of people among contemporary Mapuche. Any
large gathering may be called *kawin* or *trawin*, even those held
[764] for secular purposes. Field hockey matches (*palikantun*), or
[526] *mingaco* labor parties, or the recent innovation, soccer, are all
[476] *kawin*. But these essentially secular affairs do not have the
symbolic content of *ñillatun* or *awn*, which may also be referred
to as *kawin*. Those who assemble to watch or participate in
sports or cooperative labor are considered "interested parties," a
select group in some instances, but one composed of persons
who are not engaged in these activities because of kinship
alignment or membership in a ritual community.

571 While secular events make for interreservational contacts of a
519 fairly wide range, these are transitory. The events themselves
526 draw participants and spectators from a number of reservations,
but they are qualitatively different from *ñillatun* and *awn*.
476 While there are ritual overtones to *palikantun* and *mingaco*, the
substance of the relationships is not ritually conceived. The
players or workers, as the case may be, are selected for personal
ability, or for the special resources, such as draft animals and

toos, they are able to contribute to the venture. That most 571
participants come from within the region or ritual congregation 517
is understandable in terms of geographic proximity and communication, 526
not in terms of moral compulsion. Secular interests
have become more diffuse and less related to group membership 476
than they appear to have been in the past, and, if anything, secular *kawin* involve more heterogeneous groups than ever before in Mapuche history. This is largely due, I feel, to changes in work patterns, reservation *esprit de corps*, and a trend toward "unstructured" (a complete misnomer) leisure.

But this is certainly not the case with fertility ceremonies and 796
funeral rites. The great *ñillatun* ceremony and the compelling 571
awn observances serve to unite the Mapuche before *ñenechen* 182
and their ancestors. Heterogeneity with regard to the composition of these ceremonies is strictly limited by congregational boundaries. Death and burial services intensify the kindred feelings among the several lineages involved. They also unite in sympathy (a psychological expression of social obligation) persons of unrelated households and without blood or marriage ties, and reaffirm family friendships rooted in long contact and local residence. In this sense, both *ñillatun* and *awn* are parochial, their conduct based on trust and expressed in terms of obligation. They serve to reinforce solidary relationships among reservation groups within a traditionally defined locality, even though their conduct rests on lineage rights and duties imbedded in the structure of religious morality.

Death and Burial Rites: Awn

Traditional belief holds that death is caused by supernatural 761
intervention, specifically, that *wekufe* cause death, usually at the behest of a *kalku*. This explanation covers all situations, accidental death (e.g. in connection with falling off a horse, drowning, etc.) being regarded merely as one manner in which the forces of evil operate and, therefore, not accidental at all. But "bad death" (*wesa l'an*) usually refers to the fact that a person died
violently and away from home. All deaths, whatever their [177]
nature, are associated with evil, and a growing awareness of modern medicine has had little effect in weakening traditional
beliefs in supernatural causation. The syringe and the aspirin 000

The syringe and the aspirin
767 combat certain illnesses better than some traditional herbal
755 remedies, but should the new methods fail resort is made to the
177 native curer, and the patient is always brought to the threshhold
of the supernatural world.

764 Upon death, there are certain preparatory acts to be per-
formed. These follow a ritual pattern. Since post-marital resi-
591 dence is patrilocal (with respect to the husband's reservation), a married woman most often dies among her neighbors, on the reservation into which she has married, rather than among her patrilineal kinsmen. Her husband and his closest relatives are responsible for attending to the proper display and burial of her
[613] corpse. A man dies among his lineage mates and is cared for by his wife, grown children, and closest blood relatives. The same procedure is followed regardless of whether the deceased is single, married, adult, or child of either sex, although in the case
[613] of minors there is less ostentation and fewer mourners. One important difference between the death services of an adult married woman or man and a child is that in the case of the child, the attendance of the affinally linked group is less complete.

764 While still indoors, the dead person is referred to as *l'ayen.* The corpse at this time is considered dangerous to handle, making the necessary washing, dressing, and so forth a heavy obligation on those to whom it falls. Children are kept away from the corpse and are not even supposed to view it. Once the wake is over and the burial ceremony is underway, this feeling about the newly dead diminishes. The entire body of the dead person is washed, usually by one or two of the adult co-residents of his household. No attempt is made to preserve the
[178] corpse by draining the body fluid, but the practice of smoking the body of an important person still exists, although it is uncommon.

While it is possible that smoking the corpse was more common in the past—and there is no reason to believe this—it takes place nowadays only if burial is infeasible, owing to frozen ground (a problem only in the Andes) or to unusual delay in assembling the relatives of the deceased. Andean Mapuche tell of the corpse being hung over the cooking fire in the household or lodged in the rafters somewhere near the smoke escape. 764 Although I did not witness this practice, detailed descriptions of the procedure and of the stench of the corpse during the early stages of preservation, besides freely offered evaluations of the depression of household members under such circumstances, lend credence to accounts of this sort. It is said that the viscera is [756] removed by a *machi*, who is paid well for the service. Removal of [763] the viscera is usually done not simply to aid in the preservation of the corpse, but in order that the *machi* may perform an autopsy to determine the exact cause of death. The Mapuche report that there are few autopsies performed nowadays, which seems to indicate that smoking of the corpse is equally rare. However, although not commonly effected, it does exist in practice and as an ideal tribute to the dead. The important aspect for this study, in any case, is that the corpse is not quickly disposed of, not immediately interred in its final resting place, but is handled in a deliberate, temporary manner which may be singled out for analytic purposes as the first phase of the funeral ceremony. In effect, final burial is secondary burial.

After the corpse is washed and clothed in its finest garments, it is placed for display on a *llañi* or *mellel* (each signifying a bier or altar, likewise used for the burning of offerings in the *ñillatun* ceremony). It is retained in the house for an ideal period of four days or a multiple thereof, a period which is said to be extendable, even nowadays, to several months. In the burials which I observed, however, the corpse was retained in the house for no more than eight days (in only one case), and usually for four days. If there is already a coffin (*huampu*) on hand, the deceased is placed in it and the coffin placed on the bier. Occasionally coffins are made of a tree trunk split and hollowed in canoe shape, but most people purchase pine boxes manufactured in nearby towns. There is a very close connection between the preservation of traditional methods of displaying and interring the corpse—delayed burial, canoe-shaped coffin, and other things—and the ability of the family to afford the higher cost of a traditional funeral. It is difficult and time-consuming to provide the corpse with an oxskin wrapping and a canoe-shaped coffin. The skin must be prepared and the tree felled and

764 worked. When such burial takes place, the wrapper and the
canoe-coffin are usually prepared well in advance, kept in the
chief's or *ülmen's* house, long an object of display to visitors.

764 Immediately upon death there is a great demonstration of
remorse on the part of the deceased's family, especially by the
152 adult females, who alternately sob and wail their grief, tear their
hair and clothing, and imprecate the evil spirits (*wekufe*) and
the sorcerer responsible for causing death. At this time promises
are made to avenge the "murder," regardless of the circumstances
under which the person died. Grief is obviously deeply
felt. Demonstrations of sorrow at the loss of a kinsman and
neighbor, and wrath against the *wekufe*, are repeatedly and
spontaneously made. All who maintain the deathwatch participate
in extolling the deceased. The wake (*kurikawin*: black
764 gathering) is a tearful and noisy affair, attended by much
152 drinking and the performance of spontaneous *amulpellun*,
during which the riders hurl invectives at the forces of evil who
783 are lurking about to capture the departed spirit. This action,
more than the washing of the body, is the ritually purifying act,
the functional equivalent of the *awn* (driving off the evil spirits)
during the *ñillatun* ceremony. The importance of this concept is
reflected in the entire funeral ceremony being called *awn*
(encirclement).

764 The tempo of activities during the wake increases with the
arrival of more relatives. Drinking becomes heavier and the
574 wailing and maudlin songs more frequent. Most of the visitors
who live nearby spend a respectful length of time at the wake,
and may return on successive occasions, but once advised of the
death they prepare themselves for the *awn* celebration, the
major festive demonstration of the obligation of the living to
the dead. Those relatives who have travelled some distance to
attend the services remain in the house of the deceased or his
relatives living on the reservation. They take up the death watch
on successive days and nights prior to the final burial. Except for
this nucleus of closest kinsmen there is an ebbing and flowing of
mourners, as the guests arrive and depart, to make themselves
ready for the second and the final phases of the funeral.

The death watch, variously called *moñetun* (curing, sustaining), *kurikawin* (black gathering), and the Spanish-derived

velañ mán (*velañ: velorio* or wake; *mán*: right), lasts at least 764
four days and nights. Its termination at the end of this ritually 574
auspicious number of days tends to coincide with the arrival of
the last relatives who live some distance away. Awaiting the
distant relatives is often given as the reason for the delayed
burial, but, particularly in instances where some members of the
deceased's family are anxious to get the body into the ground,
"like the Catholics," this represents the opinion of few Mapuche.
For the vast majority, the reason for the delay in 764
final burial is stated differently. The body is displayed in an [178]
approximation to what present-day Mapuche consider the
traditional manner, because in this way they are able to accord it
the respect prescribed by *admapu*. Although on display, the
corpse is kept isolated, insofar as it is not touched by the viewers.
It is dangerous. This is common knowledge. It is preserved in [788]
state for the ritually perfect number of four days (if possible) [801]
because by doing so the well-being of the living as well as the
dead tends to be insured. The notion of "curing" or "sustaining"
the spirit of the deceased shows that this ritual delay in burial is
a necessary procedure during the transitional period in which
the newly released spirit is in danger of falling prey to the forces
of evil.

There is some evidence that the Mapuche formerly practiced 764
urn burial (cf. Cooper 1946: 734 ff., and bibliography), and that 178
this custom later gave way to preserving not only the bones but
the entire eviscerated corps through smoking. Present-day informants
know nothing of urn burial or of special treatment of
the deceased's bones, although they are aware that their remote
ancestors interred the bones of their dead in urns, having
discovered these ancient burial receptacles while plowing their
fields and so forth. The practice of smoking the corpse and [173]
wrapping it in an ox or horse skin is part of the oral tradition,
the few cases which occur today representing a disintegrating
tradition (which is dubious) and eliciting sorrowful remarks
from a few elders. Regardless of whether or not the corpse is
actually handled in a way which distinguishes the Mapuche
wake from the Chilean *velorio*, there is still a decidedly different
emphasis in the concern which the Mapuche have
about the state of the corpse. The spirit does not immedi- 000

775 764 The spirit does not immediately rise to "heaven," nor does it automatically descend to the underworld (which, in any case, is usually viewed as a witches' cave, or *reñii*). What happens to the newly released spirit depends on how the living mourners behave, how the ceremony is conducted. And, if the ceremony is not conducted properly, as is more often the case at the funeral of a child, the corpse itself may be used by a witch in creating another malevolent spirit. This is the usual explanation given about the creation of *anchimallen*, the child-sized ghost which is fabricated out of all or part of the bones of a corpse which has been literally spirited [761] away by a witch. Death, therefore, is not viewed as a lightening-quick transformation in which the spirit is instantly wafted to its final resting place, the vile body remaining to be disposed of. There is nothing vile about the body. The funeral is a state of transition for the spirit and, if properly handled, a step toward eternal comfort in the afterworld.

764 On the morning of the fourth day after death, the corpse is carried out of the house and set up on a *llañi*, which has been built to receive it in a nearby field, thus initiating the second phase of the ceremony and concluding the wake (*kurikawin*). [537] This part of the ceremony may be referred to as *weupin*, signifying that the most important aspect of it is the set of orations over the coffin, in which the praises of the dead are spoken both to the living participants and to their most [822] attentive ancestors. The coffin is painted black, the traditional [777] color of death and mourning, is decorated with garlands of flowers and sacred leaves (*canelo*, *maqui*, and others), and, if [797] the most influential relatives are nominally Catholic, sometimes surrounded by lighted candles. Either a large wooden cross or a carved effigy-pole is placed at the head of the coffin, which is facing toward the east. This emblem is carried to the graveyard later and placed at the head of the grave. The display of the [574] deceased in the open field, in conjunction with the eating and drinking feast that takes place on this occasion, signalizes the end of the wake. The spirit of the deceased has not yet departed for the afterworld, but the chances of its being captured by the forces of evil have diminished.

764 574 On this, the appointed day for final burial, relatives assemble in the early hours of the morning and begin the preparation of

the meal which, at great cost to the family of the deceased, will 764
be offered to the full complement of relatives and neighbors 574
who arrive before noon. A thousand or more people are often
present. Most of the women and young people travel on foot or [484]
in oxcarts, but men usually arrive on horseback, dressed in their [492]
finest *huaso* clothing. There is an air of grave formality. The 764
horsemen line up at the end of the field which contains the 574
llañi, or form a semicircle around the *llañi*, if their number is
large. As they line up, they are greeted by their host, a male of 576
the deceased's immediate family (or by several family members). The host passes from one horseman to the next, extending appropriate kinship terms with the guests. Through the widest extension of these terms, even nonrelatives are accorded family status on these occasions.

No condolences are offered at this reception, although they are freely tendered later and, indeed, have already been expressed at the wake by most of those assembled. The horsemen remain grouped for most of the morning. After they have all arrived and have been welcomed by the host, they dismount and begin to mill about, eat, drink, view the corpse, speak to their friends, renew acquaintances, and so on.

The women in their turn assemble in the family oxcarts or on foot near the dwelling of the deceased's family, and are likewise greeted by a woman relative of the dead person. These salutations are much less formal and, largely because of the presence
of children, much less solemn. Women gather apart from the 764
men at first. As more and more wine is consumed, however, the 574
formality begins to break down and the overall aspect of the feast becomes one of confusion.

The elders among the relatives and friends of the dead person, among whom may be visiting chiefs and elders from other reservations, congregate with the members of the deceased's immediate family, usually in the shade of a tree or in front of the house, where a banquet table has been set up to receive food and drink. The honored guests are diligently served by housemates of the dead person or by other relatives who have been
asked to assist them. There they remain during most of the [537]
ceremony, except when formal orations (*weupin*) are being made at the coffin, and when the coffin is later borne to the

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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764 cemetery. It is from this select group that the official *weupin*
574 (also orators) are chosen, usually by prearrangement on the
[537] basis of closeness or type of kinship bonds and familiarity with
the deceased's personal history and family connections. There is
[602] always one *weupin* from the wife-giving and the wife-receiving
group, and in their case the selection is usually unanimous and
perfunctory.

764 It is customary for all present to look upon the dead person as he lies in the uncovered coffin on the *llañi*. Many people do not wish to see the exposed corpse, however, and are reluctant to approach the coffin until it has been closed or is about to be closed. Close relatives and some of the others drop coins and other small articles into the coffin, but the inclusion of the deceased's personal belongings—shoes, hat, ring, trinkets, etc.—is a more formal matter (called *rokiñ*) performed by the surviving spouse or eldest sibling, to whom the prized objects were entrusted. Accompanying the belongings of the deceased is
[261] always a small packet of food. Food is considered a token gift for
the spirit's trip to the afterworld, and consists of a few small pieces of meat, bread, fruit, and the like. Supplied in this manner, the spirit will almost surely leave for the world of the dead, rather than be tempted to linger near his house.

On one occasion I witnessed, these items were forgotten until the coffin had already been lowered into the grave. The coffin was reopened and some food placed on top of the corpse. Presumably, the omission occurred because the corpse was in an advanced state of decomposition, causing the mourners to hastily cart the coffin to the burial grounds after the formal *weupin*
[261] had been delivered. This incident illustrates the importance at-
tached to the inclusion of food for the journey of the spirit and its escape from possible capture by the forces of evil. It also underscores the notion of ritual perfection involved in funeral ceremonies.

764 While the coffin is on the *llañi* in the ceremonial field, the
574 mourners partake liberally of the food and drink supplied by the
immediate relatives of the deceased (man) or the widow. There is always someone ready to pour wine or *chicha*. Meat is amply
764 provided. The first helpings of food, especially horsemeat, are
57 served by the hosts in special portions to the matrilaterally
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linked elders and the chiefs among the honored guests. These 764
choice servings are reciprocated at some future date by the 57
recipients, provided the structure of any future ceremony 602
warrants it. As an example, should the wife-receiving relatives of [262]
a dead person attend a funeral of a member of their wife- 764
giving group at some future date, they would be properly 57
received and fed well. But they would not be given better 602
treatment than the wife-givers of the host group. This relativity 554
of status is a constant theme among the Mapuche which largely defines their system of etiquette. A man in a relatively inferior social category, even though he were an especially close personal friend, would not feel slighted if his host were to accord greater privilege to someone who was the host's social superior. Such behavior is expected and is understood as such.

The *weupin* orations are the keynote of the burial ceremony. 764
They are highly laudatory and recount in synopsis the exploits 537
and good qualities of the deceased. *Weupin* signifies any discourse on a serious note. Therefore, all mourners who speak a few words over the corpse are delivering *weupin* and themselves are *weupin* or *weupufe*. However, certain male relatives are chosen as official *weupin*, and these speak rather lengthy encomiums over the deceased in formalized and somewhat archaic speech. Each delivers an account of the noble qualities of the dead person, speaks of the loss to his family and friends, to the community, and of the responsibility of the survivors,
especially the obligations of his children. The *weupin* trace the 537
genealogy of the deceased to the last remembered ancestor of his 764
patrilineage and extol the virtues of the principal male mem- 613
bers on each generation back to the founder. Indeed, so important is this genealogical aspect that it limits the choice of *weupin* to those relatives who are most closely related to the deceased, regardless of personal friendship. These are the elders of the lineage, who would most likely know the genealogical connections, or of a responsible enough nature to determine them before called upon to discuss genealogy.

This kind of genealogical reconstruction may take place at 537
any point in the *weupin*, although it tends to come either at the 764
end, as a summation of the person's good qualities and connec- 613
tions, or in the beginning, as an introduction to them. Through 829

537 Through
764 *weupin* one's linkage with important ancestors is brought to the
613 attention of those very ancestors and to the funeral assembly. To
829 many of the living, the genealogy of the deceased is disclosed or
[769] made explicit for the first time. It is obvious that genealogies are weeded of lesser ancestors, clearly seen in the vertical emphasis on generations once or twice removed from the oldest living generation. Only the most important, the direct-line ancestors are mentioned. The *weupin* is clearly an occasion on which genealogical manipulation takes place, perhaps inadvertently. Even women are included in the reconstruction to augment the status of the deceased by relating him to his matrilateral group of cognates as an affinal member whose offspring share the blood of the maternal group. Sometimes, when an in-married male has died, or one of his children, a connection of blood is made through the woman to the resident lineage, that into which she was born. There is ample room here for the shifting and manipulating of genealogies, the resultant modifications in which are noticeable in collecting life-histories of the inhabitants of any reservation. I suggest that on occasion of *awn* there is a responsive ambient for this sort of maneuver.

764 When *weupin* are terminated, the time has arrived to transport the coffin on its bier to the graveyard, initiating the third and final phase of the funeral service. This may be done by pallbearers who go on foot to the burial ground, or by oxcart, which is the usual means of transportation if the cemetery is not close by and if roads are available. The burial place, *eltun* (cemetery) or *minchemapu* (grave—infrequently used), has already been prepared by relatives of the deceased. Closeness of relationship is generally the criterion for selection of pallbearers and grave diggers, thus the obligation of the living for the dead begins early in acts of a practical sort. The general responsibility of the total assemblage precipitates out on the shoulders of the most responsible few.

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273 The procession to the burial ground is usually disorderly, owing to the drunken condition of the mourners who, indeed, are usually cautioned not to set down or drop the coffin. Only a handful of the closest relatives accompanies the coffin to the graveyard, for by this time many of the participants are already in a stupor or are sleeping off the effects of wine and *chicha*.

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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Those accompanying the coffin make additional libations of wine at the grave, drinking a good deal more themselves. The scene at the grave is characteristically maudlin.

Two or more of the men remain to fill in the hole with dirt. The rest return to the house of the deceased, where family and friends continue to console one another and speak the praises of the dead, meanwhile finishing the remaining food and drink. The formal ceremony concludes with interment and final salutes to the dead. Ashes are sometimes scattered between the cemetery and the deceased's house. They impede the spirit from returning to the precincts of the living, provided all other aspects of the ceremony have been executed satisfactorily. And if this is done, the three principal objectives of *awn* are achieved: the remains of the dead are interred, his spirit is assured its proper place in the afterworld, and the living have discharged their obligation of mourning, which properly initiates their lifelong responsibility of spirit propitiation.

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Burial ceremonies vary not so much with region as with the status of the dead person and his relatives. Age, sex, wealth, and rank are the main determinants for variations in *awn* celebrations. Adults receive more or less the same ceremonial treatment as that described above, but chiefs and shamans are accorded more pomp. Children's funerals are generally much simpler affairs than those of adults, are attended by fewer mourners, and are brought to completion in a shorter time. It is felt that the loss to their lineage and community is not as great as the loss of a married adult member of the group, since they were not full-fledged members of the society. Infants, unless they die at the same time as their mother, are rarely interred in the communal cemetery, but are buried in the old family plot or somewhere else near the house, and with little ceremony. It is generally said that this at least partly prevents them from being captured by *kalku* and converted into *anchimallen*, a feat which the Mapuche seem to feel is more easily accomplished when infants are buried at some distance from the house in the cemetery.

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The funeral of a chief or shaman is more ostentatious and the assemblage much larger than those of ordinary Mapuche. In number of participants, the ceremony takes on the proportions

766 556 of *ñillatun*, possibly more than 1,000 persons (adults) attending. Wealth is a factor in the amount of display at funerals of shamans and chiefs, but this is contributed wealth rather than individual riches of the deceased and his family. While any wealthy person (*ülmen*) will have an expensive coffin and other trappings, the wealth displayed at the funeral of a chief or prominent shaman will be in the form of contributed food, drink, and garlands of flowers brought not only by relatives but by friends, some of whom travel great distances to attend the ceremony. It occasionally happens, to this day, that a chief's horse is slain over his grave or on the ceremonial field, later to be consumed by the funeral party.

766 622 [537] The most impressive features of a chief's funeral service are the large number of people in attendance and the elaborate details of the numerous *weupin*. Members of his natal reservation turn out in full force. In addition, there are representatives from other reservations in the ritual congregation and beyond. The Mapuche speak of their chiefs as nobles—men of pure blood and from ancient families. This nobility is given full play during the funeral ceremony by the various *weupin*. Any more-or-less friendly chief will make an appearance at the ceremony, with as many of his following as he is able to muster for the occasion. A person who is merely wealthy in land and animals, but who is not in the direct line of chiefly succession, in no way receives this elaborate demonstration of respect. Such is accorded to a chief, not only because of his political status or even his leadership in the ritual congregation, but because it is due him as one who will shortly join the ranks of most important ancestors and walk for eternity with the sons of the gods.

796 *The Fertility Rite: Ñillatun*

[178] The *ñillatun* ceremony is the most elaborately complex Mapuche ritual in existence today. I suggest that it has attained its present complexity and elaborateness since the time the Mapuche became immobilized on reservations and population density in the indigenous zone increased. A number of elements have probably been added to the *ñillatun* ceremony in the last few generations, and others dropped during the recorded history

of the Mapuche. What appears today is a composite whole 796
having some regional variation in trait content. Titiev sums up [178]
his impression of the ceremony in the following words: [184]

> Woven together into the great composite of *ñillatun* rites are elements of machi lore, assembly customs, hockey games, curing and divination practices, and numerous other religious features, all of which are mingled in a two-day public celebration that is designed to give thanks for favors received or to ask for help in times of stress (1951:128).

While this seems to me to be an empirically valid observation, [114]
I fear it might leave the reader with the impression that the ceremony is little more than a hodgepodge of assorted beliefs and practices having no more than a vaguely functional relationship in that they are "woven together" and "mingled" in a way which is somewhat propitiatory, adulatory, or supplicatory.

In the following pages is a generalized account of *ñillatun* [114]
ceremonies as I observed them on five widely separated sets of
reservations in Mapucheland. Some regional variations seem 796
partly due to the fact that today's ceremonies are an ensemble of 184
the sort mentioned by Titiev. Once this is recognized, however, and we look below the surface phenomena, many such differences appear to have little or no social significance. Of great structural significance is the fact that variation is partly accounted for by different local groups propitiating different regional deities and their own ancestors.

A General Description of Ñillatun. *Ñillatun* ceremonies 796
are not held according to an exact calendrical schedule, although 241
nowadays they take place with regularity in the spring or after 178
the fall harvest. In the past, according to historical documents
and verbal accounts, they were sometimes held for other than
agricultural fertility purposes. The principal nonagricultural 796
motives seem to have been to ask *ñenechen* and various of the 241
minor gods for success in war and deliverance from plagues and 782
general disaster. Today, concern is mainly with agricultural
fertility and the general well-being of the congregation. Clearly [178]
a major aspect of *ñillatun* is the offering of food to *ñenechen*,
the pantheon, and to ancestral spirits. Although these are not
first fruit ceremonies, since they take place prior to the ripening

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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796 of grain or after the harvest has been made, there are supplementary
241 rites associated with Mapuche agriculture. There also exists
[782] today the small, family-based nillatun, conducted mainly for
[198] nonagricultural purposes, which seems to me to reflect the persistence of the traditional, multipurpose ceremony of the preconquest era.

796
622 In the absence of a ritual calendar, nillatun ceremonies are scheduled according to the inclinations of the leaders of the residential groups on each of the participating reservations, according to how they view their responsibilities. Chiefs formally initiate the holding of the ceremony, but other respected and important elders of the reservation help decide the matter. The concurrence and participation of the chief, however, are essential for a successful nillatun.

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[621] Members of each reservation in the ritual congregation provide a conclave of elders, heads of lineages and sublineages, who work out the arrangements for holding the ceremony. Decisions are made about what to ask for (rain, sun, a favorable combination of each), depending on the season and the community's needs. In the preharvest season, for example, dry weather may be asked for, and to insure good growth and a successful harvest a promissory nillatun is held (by a single reservation), propitiating ancestral spirits and ancestors and, possibly, the old man and woman of the south wind. A nillatun is considered promissory if the people have not the means of staging a large ceremony, owing to a scarcity of food, and that member reservations (some lineages of which might be in attendance elsewhere) do not participate fully. In the post-harvest season, when food is at least temporarily abundant, a large, full-scale nillatun will be held, to give thanks and to fulfill the promise. Other decisions made by the conclave include the selection of officials for the ceremony, the captains ([illegible] guardian of *rewe*) and sergeants, as well as pennant bearers; the type of rewe or main altar to be used; the number of black or white horses which symbolize, respectively, rain and sun; what shall be sacrificed; what shall be eaten and drunk; and many other important details of ritual arrangement.

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621 *Nillatun* is sponsored by a single reservation, actually initiated by the dominant lineage therein, and jointly participated in by

796 [62] several reservations which form traditional segments of the ritual congregation. The respective chiefs and ñillatufe (ideally, one or more of the chiefs) and the various lineage heads assemble to discuss the matter and do the major planning. The arrangement of the smaller, preliminary ceremonies is not as complicated, decisions generally being made by the lineage head after discussion with the elders of his reservation.

796 756 Shamans are sometimes invited to these conclaves, but this is not common, even though it might even be understood beforehand that a machi will conduct most of the prayers of the forthcoming ceremony. Sometimes shamans are specifically excluded from participating in the ceremony, although they are never excluded as spectators, and may even be honored guests. Machis, however, might sometimes instigate ñillatun celebrations, as was clearly the case in a ceremony I witnessed near Angol, in the northern part of Mapucheland, where chieftainship is weak and where corporate structure of reservations is not always strong. When machis are called in to perform at ñillatun, it is a last-ditch expediency—so that some sort of religious ceremony may be held.

796 [782] [776] The preliminary meeting ends with an agreement about details of the approaching ceremony. All ñillatun that I observed were held around the full of the moon. The principal reason seems to have been that the connections between fertility associated with the fullness of the moon is taken to mean that the god of the moon (Kuyenchaw) is especially receptive to human offerings at this time. Once agreement has been reached, word is passed throughout the general region, formally to those people who are members of the most responsible units of the ritual congregation and informally to other persons who live on the periphery of the congregational unit and who may attend as spectators. The formal notice includes details concerning the exact purpose of the ceremony, the contributions which are expected from certain families, what shall be brought in the way of food and drink, and so forth. Then begins a rather feverish (in that people are doing things not ordinarily performed) though simple preparation on the part of all concerned. The people prepare quantities of bread and meat, chicha and muday, mend or buy clothing for the occasion, polish their harnesses

796 jewelry, repair carts, clip and curry their horses. Usually there is about a month between the setting of the date and the staging of the ceremony.

776 778 Shortly before the date set for ngillatun, a select group of elders (the designated officials) goes to the ngillatun field to make it ready for the performance. This group is a separate, secret conclave from which all women and children are excluded. The altar from the previous ceremony is very likely still standing, but it is in disrepair, as are the ramadas or cubicles made of boughs, which serve as shelters for the assembled families and guests. If [624] the altar is an ancient carved post, only the sacred boughs of canelo, maqui, apple, and other trees, which have been stuck in the ground around it are replaced. If the altar is simply a notched post, it too may be replaced at this time. The area for a number of yards around the altar post is considered the sacred field, and is not sown or, theoretically, grazed. The ramadas are erected or repaired by those persons who intend to use them. Sometimes these are constructed so as to nearly encircle the ceremonial field, sometimes they are lined along one or more sides of the area. The field itself, regardless of the appearance lent to it by the ramadas, is considered to be circular, defined usually by the path followed by the *awn* riders.

796 The renewal or rebuilding of the *rewe* and *lleti* is the final preparatory act before the public ceremony begins. Once this is accomplished, the people begin to assemble. They commence to arrive on the morning of the first day scheduled for the public ritual. The officials are among the first to arrive, for they have to be on hand to direct the ceremony from the beginning and to [782] greet the participants as they appear on the scene. They attend to the last-minute preparations, such as tying the sacrificial sheep (sometimes oxen) into place, seeing that enough firewood has been gathered, that the proper bowls of grain and libational offerings have been set in place near the main altar (*rewe*). Since so much of the success of the ceremony is in the hands of these officials, they attend to the most minute details of the ritual.

All participants, as distinguished from mere spectators, arrive at the ceremonial field fairly early to ready their ramadas, start their cooking fires, prepare soup and other foods that take long

to cook, and await the beginning of the ritual. Nearly all the 796
people arrive by noon, although there are some stragglers. The
assemblage on the first day of the ceremony is generally much
smaller than that on the second day. The first day is considered [782]
supremely sacred, and much time is given to the propitiation of
ancestors of the host group and, in turn, those of the participating
reservations which traditionally comprise the ritual congregation.
Things change somewhat on the second (or third) day of
the ceremony, and many profane activities are introduced.
People tend to mix more freely on the second day, and there is [273]
usually a good deal of wine-drinking (although this is proscribed [184]
in certain parts of Mapucheland). On the second day, the
spectators may outnumber the participants, and the total
assemblage might easily reach several thousand people. This [178]
vulgarization of the ceremony is deeply regretted by the elders.

As the various family groups of participants arrive, they take
up positions sufficiently distant from the center of the field of
ceremonial activity. If *ramadas* have been set up to receive
everyone, their positions are predetermined. The officials [625]
(*kamañ*: guardians of one sort or another) of the ceremony are
responsible for the ordering of the crowd and do not hesitate to
ask family groups to move to more suitable places rimming the
ceremonial field. There is a good deal of milling about among
the assemblage before the ceremony starts, as people compete to
obtain positions of vantage from which to view the activities. At
the first sign of ritual activity, however, the entire audience fixes
its attention on the *rewe* and settles down to watch the
proceedings.

Ideally, the ritual is divided into four parts, each largely a
repetition of the other. If there is a full performance, the ritual
falls into four sections: early morning, mid-morning, early
afternoon, late afternoon. There are no nocturnal rites, al- [574]
though there is a good deal of visiting among the participants
and guests, should they remain the night on the ceremonial
field.

Whether there are four, three, or only two ritual periods, each closely duplicates the main features of the others. There is always this repetition, even though there should be only a morning and an afternoon session. The ritual of the second

796 session follows the pattern set during the first. However, on the
796 second day, the regimen of the first day might be threatened by
drunkenness if the officials have not maintained proper super-
625 vision. The job of the officials, especially the sergeants, is to
preserve order, and they may strike at people with their long poles of office if anyone violates their orders. To a great extent, it is felt that the smoothness with which the ceremony is conducted determines its success or failure, and the sergeants and captains may evict people with impunity in order to maintain the proper atmosphere for the traditional conduct of the affair.

796 After the initial prayer is offered in the special language
(archaic) to *ñenechen* and the ancestors, the *ñillatufe* signals for
789 the performance of *awn*, which clears the ceremonial field of any
[782] lurking forces of evil. This act is so important to the successful
[769] conclusion of *ñillatun* that, even where there are few horses
available, I have seen it performed by men riding stick horses.
[198] The altar is circled several times, ideally four times or a multiple of four. The more horsemen available, the more effective the maneuver. In addition to galloping around the sacred field, some of the riders may wear sheepskin masks or have their faces painted in order to frighten away the ghosts, meanwhile hiding their own identity from them.

[823] The front of the main altar, before which the head priest
[778] stands, faces east, a ritually propitious direction. It is around this
altar and the secondary one (*llañi*), which is set up a hundred yards or so east of it, that the riders gallop. Starting from the right of the main altar, the horsemen ride counterclockwise in a number of complete circuits. Two of the riders carry standards, and the rest follow them in a column of twos, the rear being taken up by one of the sergeants who carries a long staff of office. The sergeant, who takes his cues from the captain or the priest, shouts commands to the riders. At regular intervals they raise a cry to chase away the evil spirits. All of this is a duplication of the *amulpellun* ceremony which takes place during funerals and is conducted for the same purpose. The riders are the center of attraction, as they race around the ceremonial field. They finally dismount near the *llañi*, where they tether their horses, to begin

796 789 a dance around the secondary altar before returning to the main one.

796 535 Meanwhile, the *purun* (a dance) has begun around the *rewe* (main altar). The *awn* riders now take up their positions in the *purun*, the two sergeants assuming command of the dancers—subject to the orders relayed through the captains from the *ñillatufe*. After a series of fast and slow *purun*, the dancing comes to an end. There might be a special *lonkopurun*, danced by men to dramatize the relation between the living and their dead chiefs, and to show how the ancestral chiefs aid their descendants and combat the forces of evil. All *purun* dancers [301] (women are allowed and expected to perform) wear sprigs of [824] *canelo* or *maqui*—sometimes shafts of wheat, barley, or a few kernels of maize—which they take from the *rewe* when beginning to dance and replace when finished, endowing themselves with a sacred quality meanwhile. As the *awn* encirclement, the *purun* is also danced around the main altar from right to left, or counterclockwise. [534] The *awn* and the *purun* are accompanied by the playing of *pifulka* (single- or multitone whistles of clay, wood, or stone), the sounding of the *trutruka* (a long trumpet), and the continual beating of the *kultrun* (drum).

796 After the *purun* is finished, the men line up on one side of the altar (*rewe*) facing the *ñillatufe*, and the women participants on the other (left) hand of the *ñillatufe*. They form two lines stretching toward the east between the *rewe* and the *llañi*. The *ñillatufe* then begins his second prayer, which concludes the first sequence, the early morning ritual. The *ñillatufe* utters his oration in four stanzas. [535] During the intervals between the stanzas, the opposed lines of men and women dance standing in place. The words of the prayers (or at least their sacred meaning) are incomprehensible to most of those assembled.

796 782 The *ñillatufe*, with assistance from the captains and sergeants, kills one of the sheep staked near the *rewe*. He does this with a long knife, slitting the animal's throat. While the sheep is bleeding to death, the *ñillatufe* cuts off its right ear, which he holds aloft while speaking a prayer. After this, he opens the chest cavity of the dead animal, frees the heart and withdraws it. He holds the heart aloft, again in his right hand, and utters a

796 782 brief prayer to *ñenechen* and the generalized ancestors, the hawks of the sun. Then he bites into the heart and passes it to the one or more assisting *ñillatufe* on his right. Each official in turn offers the sheep's heart skyward, utters a short prayer, bites into the heart. The main priest then places the heart in the crotch of the *rewe*. His arms and face are smeared with blood, which he wipes off on the *rewe* pole and on the sacred branches surrounding it. The other officials do the same. A bowl of sheep's blood, collected from the throat incision, is placed at the right side of the altar, and from this bowl the *ñillatufe* occasionally asperses the *rewe* and the ritual fire (*llupe*) which burns near it. Some blood is also burned on the special fire ignited near the *llañi*, or secondary altar. When all this is accomplished, the *ñillatufe* commands that the in-place dancing begin.

Meanwhile, the carcass of the sheep is carried to the *llañi*, where it is skinned and quartered. The sheepskin is then [825] brought back and laid beside the *rewe*. A black skin, which calls [821] for rain, is placed to the left of the altar and a white skin, for sunny weather, is placed under the bowl of blood on the right. Some of the meat from the sheep is burned on the *llañi* fire. The head and feet of the animal are thrown into the fire in most cases and, if the people are not extremely poor in animals, most of the rest of the carcass is also burned. If they are poor in animals, most of the meat is taken off when cooked and then [769] consumed as part of a ritual feast. The smoke which rises to the sky is the morning offering to the ancestral spirits, for which the [776] *llañi* is a special altar. Around the *rewe*, the most concern is for *ñenechen* and the pantheon of minor gods, and the sacrifices are of a somewhat different order.

After the in-place dancing is completed, the *ñillatufe* starts the second stanza of prayer. This time he scatters grain, asking for abundant harvests. The grain is taken from one of several wooden bowls next to the *rewe*. Some of it is thrown on the *llupe* fire. Again, as the smoke rises, a short prayer is offered to [769] *ñenechen* and the pantheon. Ancestors may not even be mentioned at this time. Most attention is given to the god and goddess of abundance, the *kapuka*.

The second in-place dance is performed to the commands of

The second in-place dance is performed to the commands of 796
the sergeants, after which the *ñillatufe* begins the third stanza of 782
prayer. This time he may cast kernels of maize only, or barley or
oats, depending on which crop has been sowed in greatest [535]
abundance, throwing some on the sacrificial fire as before. The
third in-place dance begins and ends. The *ñillatufe* again prays,
either scattering grain or aspersing with *mudai* or *chicha*, also
taken from special bowls near the main altar. After the fourth [535]
stanza of prayer, the *purun* takes place again and many of the
spectators participate. They dance for ten or twenty minutes,
many of the older people tiring and dropping out to return to
their *ramadas*, where the mid-morning snack is prepared.

When the sergeants signal that the *purun* is over, the 796
dancers leave the *rewe*, replacing sprigs of sacred branches with 574
which they danced. They return to their respective *ramadas*,
where libations of *chicha* are already being poured by the older
people, and everyone partakes of a light meal. There is a good 796
deal of visiting from one *ramada* to the next, with visitors being 574
presented with food. The amount they receive indicates their 431
importance and is often calculated to reciprocate equally a gift
of food made during a previous ceremony. Gifts of food are [554]
exchanged in this way among most families in attendance. [608]
Special *konchotun* (a loose-binding blood pact) ceremonies
may also take place at this time.

Subsequent parts of the ceremony duplicate the early morning 796
rites part for part. Ideally, the prayers and other activities have
to be repeated perfectly, but there seems to be only an approximation to ritual perfection, or a broad interpretation of
the ideal. A second sheep or other animal may not be sacrificed [782]
until the close of the ceremony, but if animals are abundant (i.e. if the donors are wealthy), a sheep might be killed at each part of the ritual. It is said that there should be four sessions of sacrifice-dance-prayer and one special *lonkopurun* on each day of *ñillatun*, and that the ceremony should last at least two days. Again, this ideal is only approximated. There may be only two main sessions on the first day, perhaps three on the second, and an ordinary *purun* may be called a *lonkopurun*. There are always at least two main prayer sessions each day, however, and one repeats the other.

I have stressed the priestly function of *ñillatufe*, the sacrificial

' I have stressed the priestly function of ñillatufe, the sacrificial
796 offerings to god and the ancestors, and the supplicatory nature
793 of prayer, rather than the role of the shaman, the manipulation
756 of her familiar spirits, and the somewhat greater coercive aspect of her activities. This is because most of the ceremonies I witnessed were conducted in the manner described. Only once did I see a *machi* take nearly full charge of a *ñillatun*, and the difference in the shamanistic performance and the priestly ritual was considerable. In my opinion, the *machi* has achieved her status as participant in *ñillatun* ceremonies largely by default, largely because of a growing scarcity of competent *ñillatufe* in the face of a growing population and a continued need for *ñillatun*.

114 *The Shaman and the Priest.* Titiev has pointed out that
793 early writers do not agree "even on so fundamental a point as
756 the role played by a machi" in the *ñillatun* organization (1951:
796 130). The discussion that follows is offered as a hypothesis
about the development of the role of the *machi* on one hand and that of the ritual priest (*ñillatufe*) on the other. It is a plausible historical reconstruction which may be of some help in understanding the *machi*'s role in public fertility rites. It is not, however, necessary to an understanding of the structure of contemporary Mapuche society, the importance of *ñillatun*, or the significance of the ritual congregation in the scheme of Mapuche morality. Nevertheless, it is relevant to the development of the modern ritual community.

796 There is always a head man at a *ñillatun* ceremony. Ideally,
622 the chief of the host reservation is head man. If not a chief, the
[613] head man is always a lineage elder, and almost always an elder of
the dominant lineage. He operates with the support of peers of the other lineage segments on his reservation and elders from other reservations in the ritual congregation. In multi-reservational *ñillatun* (which includes the vast majority of these ceremonies) the head man is always a chief, and the most important functionaries are chiefs from participating reservations.

796 If the chief conducts the ceremony, he is, *ipso facto*, the
622 *ñillatufe*. The host reservation feels strongly that its chief should
793 be *ñillatufe*, a person who has been instructed in the ritual and
who has committed to memory traditional prayers in the archaic ritual language. But, at the larger ceremonies in which a number

of reservations cooperate to hold *ñillatun*, it is sufficient that any 796
one of the chiefs knows the ritual prayers and is able to organize 793
the activities. Within the congregation, there is always at least 622
one chief who performs as *ñillatufe*, even though his reservation might not be the host of any particular ceremony. It sometimes happens that none of the chiefs is fully capable in ritual performance to carry the entire load of ceremonial responsibility; and, although it is rare, sometimes a *ñillatufe* from another congregational unit will be called in. Usually, a reservation [756]
chief will perform the best he knows how, relying on the services of a *machi* to supplement his own lack of supernatural lore. Using a *machi* is always a communal decision.

Any man who officiates in a priestly role is called *ñillatufe*, 796
regardless of whether he is capable of performing the entire 793
ceremony himself or whether he needs the services of a *machi*. If [756]
a *ñillatufe*'s knowledge is considered inadequate to the purpose, the most common adjustment is to bolster his ability by calling in a shaman. His lack of ability is determined in council, by [623]
concensus of the elders of his and participating reservations, on the basis of his success or failure in previous ceremonies.

Félix José de Augusta and Moesbach were convinced that 114
shamans did not participate in *ñillatun* ceremonies. Guevara 796
wrote that they sometimes participated. It is likely that Félix 756
José and Moesbach merely failed to witness such performance, but that shamans were active in *ñillatun* ceremonies at the time when they were compiling their ethnographic material. Guevara's testimony seems to indicate this. He wrote:

> *Con anterioridad han sido designados para ofrecer el sacrificio propiciatario de los corderos, algunos hombres esperimentados, caciques por lo común, que en el ritual del ngillatun se conocen con el nombre de ngillatufe.*
>
> . . . .
>
> *Entra entonces en acción la machi, si es una, i todas si son varias* (*1898:440*).

What Guevara did not say is that there were also *ñillatun* in which *machi* did not participate at all, although such is clearly
implied in his remarks. He argued at length about the connec- 114
tion between the *ñillatun* and ancestor worship, as did Latcham, 796
769

114 in the unfortunate evolutionary vogue of his time. While none
796 of his arguments concerning the development of ancestor
769 worship is especially convincing or subject to verification, I feel
that his observations about the inclusion of prayers to ancestors
[782] in *ñillatun* rites must be taken at face value. These prayers
remain an important feature of *ñillatun* today, but it is likely
[178] that they were the main theme and the principal reason for its
performance around the time Guevara wrote, during the early
reservation period.

174 On this point, Guevara's statement is illuminating: "Hasta
769 pocos años los indios celebraban un ngillatun particular, ordinariamente de una familia" (1898:440). In the celebration of
788 this family ritual, ancestors were propitiated, but it is unclear
796 whether or not the ancestors were particular, authentic ancestors
of the family group or generalized forebears of regional populations. The former was likely the case. I feel that generalized ancestors became venerated in this way only after localized lineages developed and their membership increased, i.e. during the reservation period. Lineage depth increased, ritual congregations became defined according to participating reservational memberships, and local ancestor-gods emerged in a socially significant way. It is strange that Guevara should have written, "hasta pocos años"—the Mapuche had small, family-based rituals called *ñillatun*—for they do to this day. It is possible that Guevara was merely emphasizing the fact that ceremonial assemblages had increased in size by his time, and that they had become more complex than anything described for prereservation times, for he also says: "A veces el ngillatun assume grandes proporciones, porque lo acuerdan i llevan a cabo tres o cuatro grupos, es decir, una zona entera" (1898:440).

[756] At the small, family-based *ñillatun* there was no officiating
machi, nor is there one today. When describing the larger
[178] ceremonies, Guevara conceded that *machi* may participate. He
never mentioned, however, that they dealt with spirits ancestral
to the participating groups; nor do they today.

796 Today, a *machi* always shares ritual functions with an
793 authorized *ñillatufe*, on the occasions in which she participates
756 at all. If there is no need for her services, she is not called in. A
machi is not extended an invitation to perform simply because
[178]

she may be available, at least not the sort of invitation which 796
entitles her to perform as a ritual specialist in the celebration. In 793
all cases, therefore, even when the ritual skills of the *ñillatufe* 756
are wanting, there is a head man called *ñillatufe*; the *machi's* [622]
activities are always supplementary to his.

If a *machi* is asked to officiate and to carry out most of the 796
ritual procedure, the ceremony takes a shamanistic rather than a 756
priestly turn. Titiev has described two *ñillatun* in which *machi*
were the main functionaries, although chiefs were also present. I [622]
have nothing to add to Titiev's description in general, but I
should like to comment on the performance of a shaman I saw
in action at one of these ceremonies. In one instance, the [198]
shaman threw her voice with such success that a large part of the
audience turned away from the *rewe*, where she performed,
apparently expecting to see the spirit with which the *machi* was
supposed to be communicating. A second occurrence which 796
startled the crowd was the "stabbing" of the *machi* by her 756
helper. The assistant made repeated thrusts with a knife, and 789
finally appeared to drive it into the *machi's* breast. The blade, it 536
was realized afterwards, merely got caught in her flowing shawl.
But the dexterity with which the maneuver was accomplished
left many of the spectators gasping with surprise. It was
explained to me that the action was taken to drive out any evil
spirits that might have attempted to enter the *machi* during her
possession. It was a theatrical performance, of high quality by
any standards, which distinguishes the shaman from the ritual
priest.

My belief is that whatever prominence *machi* have attained in 796
ñillatun ceremonies, it is in proportion to loss of ritual knowledge 793
and the decline in the number of competent *ñillatufe* 756
throughout Mapucheland. They have acquired importance in 182
fertility rites by default. They are introduced into this stately
ceremony to compensate for gaps in ritual knowledge; but they
act as shamans, as grapplers with the supernatural forces, not as
priests who deal in studied ritual. While both shaman and priest
deal with spirits, the shaman manipulates her own familiars and
is customarily possessed by them, and is also attacked by evil
spirits. The priest is representative of a community before its
ancestors, is not possessed, does not grapple with the forces of

796 evil directly. The shaman is called upon to serve at *ñillatun*
793 mainly because she is considered a specialist who deals with the
756 spirit world. She does not know *ñillatun* ritual, is not familiar
with the special language used in *ñillatun* orations; but she can
182 drive away evil spirits. She concentrates on the *awn* performances and adds her special knowledge, at which times her life is usually at stake in directly combatting the forces of evil.

793 A final point in distinguishing shaman from priest is the
756 matter of payment. A *ñillatufe* is not paid for his performance,
but is, as a rule, a heavy contributor himself. He may receive
465 gifts of food from most of the families present, but these he
431 redistributes immediately, generally by asking people who visit his *ramada* to share them with him. The shaman is always paid. She negotiates payment with the council of elders even before the ceremony is arranged. Most of her payment is in food and drink, and she does not redistribute these gifts, but takes them with her to her home.

793 I have heard some cynical Mapuche say that shamans
instigate *ñillatun* merely so that they might receive rich pay-
756 ment; also, that *ñillatufe* are sometimes reluctant to hold
465 *ñillatun* frequently because they do not want to make their customary contributions. Be that as it may, the priest-chief or *ñillatufe* is a deeply responsible person, who operates within the well-defined sphere of kinship rights and obligations, as these are extended to the ritual congregation. The shaman is a paid professional, called upon to compensate for gaps in ritual knowledge. She operates where chieftainship or ritual skills are weakening. While she certainly takes great pride in her ability, she is primarily interested in receiving payment for it, and she is in no case able to deal successfully with the ancestral spirits of the group which enlists her services. Her presence at *ñillatun* is, therefore, an anomaly in the sense described.

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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Four: THE RITUAL CONGREGATION: LINEAGE AND LOCALITY

THIS chapter offers a description and an analysis of the 128
relationships existing between *awn* and *ñillatun* with 794
regard to the structure and composition of Mapuche 796
groups which regularly participate in the great seasonal fertility rites and the recurrent funeral ceremonies. These memberships comprise a ritual congregation through which they participate in the largest public ritual in Mapucheland, rituals of importance to the cohesion of small blocks of reservations, as well as to that of total Mapuche society. The main concern for the moment is with both the patrilineal and the local or regional (geographical) features of the ritual congregation—that is, relationships among lineages localized on particular reservations as these group into neighborhoods or ritual congregations.

The structure of Mapuche society would appear to lend 121
support to the Durkheimian thesis that public ritual practices 771
and shared religious beliefs revitalize the community and [182]
contribute to social integration. In order to test Durkheim's hypothesis on the Mapuche, however, it is necessary to discover and describe the components of the ritual community, show why they are as they are, and discuss how they are related and how they are formed. Furthermore, it is necessary to show in detail how Mapuche ritual expression and morality comprise a single conceptual system governing social action. In doing this, the supernatural content of Mapuche morality becomes the emphasis.

I believe it is significant to mention that Mapuche religious 121
ritual may be characterized on one hand as an essentially 771
uniform system of belief and action, taking into consideration 796
local variations which appear as regionalisms. On the other 184
hand, and mainly from a sociological point of view, local variations are not variations at all, if by this is meant some departure from standard or normative procedure or belief.

121 Rather, we have here an expression of the social fact that
771 authentic ancestor-gods differ from one lineage to the next and
that there are local deities of a generalized nature which are
796 connected to specific congregational units by traditional (as
184 distinguished from genetic) ties founded on a congregation-
794 based ordering of myth. This knowledge removes from any
social analysis the necessity of making vague and unsubstantiated references to regional differences in either cultural or social expression.

121 From a cultural point of view, *ñillatun* and *awn* rites have
been described simply as two distinct ceremonies, two sets of
796 culture traits, such being the culmination of cultural analysis.
769 While this is certainly admissible, as a tentative classification, it
782 is of little or no value if it purports to be something of a
conclusion (a summation of the evidence) about Mapuche ritual. It has some analytic use. But the sociological and ideological understanding of either ceremony comes only from analysis of both, for neither in an ideological nor a sociological sense can one draw a hard and fast line between *awn* and *ñillatun*, regardless of differences. An important though by no means exclusive distinction may be suggested here between the two rituals. *Awn* is specifically geared to the safe passage of the recently released spirits to the afterworld, whereas *ñillatun* is at least partly geared to keeping them there. And *ñillatun* is a fertility rite designed to exploit the obligation of these ancestors for the welfare of the living. *Awn* is more immediately concerned with authentic ancestors, *ñillatun* more with mythical, regional deities, and *ñenechen*. But the two ceremonies are more than merely complementary, they are duplicatory rites based on a common moral ideology.

Despite the fact that there are, in one sense, two distinguishable ceremonies under consideration and that this distinction is generally verbalized, both *awn* and *ñillatun* embody a common twofold purpose: 1) the propitiation of ancestral spirits and *ñenechen*, albeit with different emphasis, and 2) the dispersion of evil spirits from the ceremonial field. Furthermore,
[794] although there are structural and compositional differences
inhering in the enactment of either ceremony, the same ritual
congregation is always well-represented on all ceremonial occa-

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sions. In simplest terms, many if not most of the same persons are involved each time either kind of ceremony is performed. 796 769

I have just noted that the differences between *awn* and *ñillatun* are symbolized linguistically. This is a generally true statement, but the exceptions to it are interesting. There are, for example, occasions when both ceremonies are called *awn* (and a vital part of *ñillatun* is called *awn*), which I take to indicate that emphasis is placed on chasing away evil spirits from the ceremonial precincts (which is a figurative translation of *awn*). Again, in terms of symbolic expression, both *ñillatun* and *weupin* (the action) imply the delivery of orations to the world of benevolent spirits. This symbolic identification is translated from Araucanian into Spanish, the Spanish word *trilla* being equated with *awn*, and *oración* with both *ñillatun* and *weupin*, the offering of prayer. In discussing funeral rites and fertility ceremonies in two sections, therefore, I am arbitrarily emphasizing the differences between them for analytic purposes. [794] [782] [789] [537]

Ñillatun

Ñillatun congregations involve more than just the members of a single lineage or even the members of a multilineage reservation. Several reservations, or segments of several reservations, interact in the conduct of this ceremony. There is always a core of responsible participants and numerous guests. The responsible participants handle the organization of the ceremony, officiate as ceremonial leaders of one sort or another, make contributions of sacrificial animals, and share food with the audience. A consideration of these and other features of the ceremony brings us to an examination of the structure from the lineage outward into the larger community—in this case, the *ñillatun* congregation. 796 794 628

In Diagram III, I have indicated reservations A through H_8, with A-B-C horizontally hachured (see p. 113 for an explanation of diagonal hachures and arrows) to show that these three form a responsible unit in the conduct of *ñillatun*. Reservations A-B-C hold a *ñillatun* each year, with one of the three acting as the most responsible subunit every year. Such an arrangement offers an ideal condition, for a year might be skipped, usually because of lack of means with which to hold the

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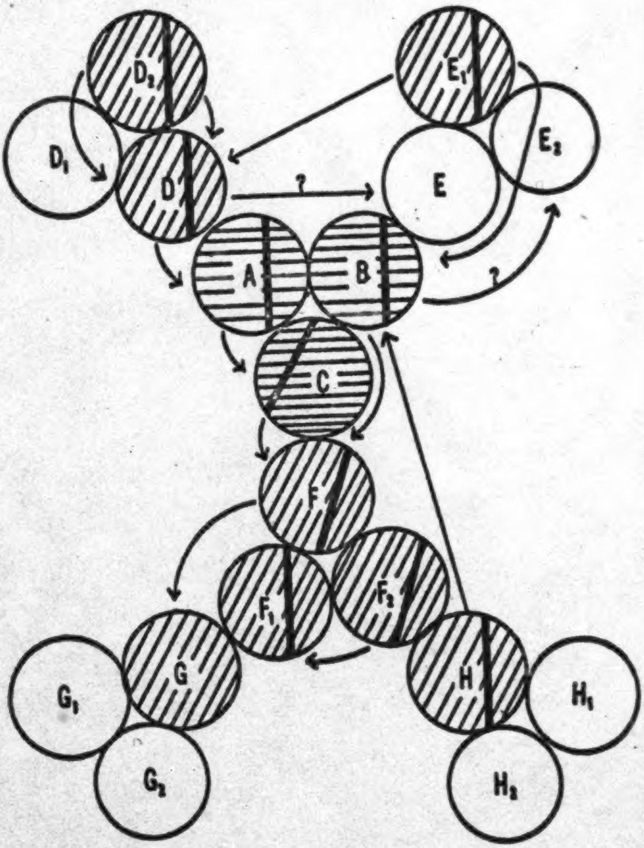
DIAGRAM III. Schematic Representation of Reservations in a Ritual Congregation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H₁
G₂
H₂

Blank areas indicate absence of reservations. Ritual and marriage ties of peripheral units jump such areas.

celebration. If this happens, people usually manage to assist, as guests, at another *ñillatun* held by one or another of the tripartite units[1] (the Ds, Es, Fs, Gs, Hs). While being guests does not fully meet their obligation (they must, as soon as possible, take their turn as host group so that the ritual cycle will not be broken), it is a sort of safety mechanism by means of which such a unit may postpone the fulfillment of its obligations while giving evidence of continued good faith and pureness of heart (*kume piuke*). This temporary postponement is not the only such safety mechanism, but it will suffice for the example. The interdependence within subunits and between tripartite units indicates the parochial or vecinal aspect of congregationalism. 796 794 628 [574]

Referring again to the diagram, we may say that one year A undertakes primary responsibility in the conduct of *ñillatun*, and that after the usual council of elders meets, B and C join in the responsibility of ritual performance. The council of elders, composed of the three chiefs and all lineage heads (usually all elders of the three reservations) from A-B-C, arrange for formal announcement to be made concerning details of the celebration. Word of these arrangements is passed informally about the neighborhood which, as arbitrarily depicted in the diagram, includes eighteen reservations.[2] [623]

In the following year B holds the ceremony and A and C are joined with B as a responsible body of participants. Word is again spread informally through the vicinity. In the next year, C holds the *ñillatun*, and A and B share the responsibility. This ends the cycle, three phases having been completed. In the fourth year, the primary responsibility once more falls to reservation A and a new cycle is initiated.

Each year, as indicated, word is spread to other reservations that a *ñillatun* is to be held in such-and-such ceremonial field on either A, B, or C reservation. From reservation A word tends to

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[1] This triple division of responsible units is quite common in Mapucheland, but other divisions (four, five, and possibly more) are also found.

[2] I do not use "neighborhood" in a precise way, but I hope to arrive at a more precise definition of *ñillatun* congregation during this discussion. Up to this point, however, the *ñillatun* congregation may be considered as consisting minimally of A-B-C.

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be passed along to the D group; B tends to inform the E group; C the F group; and the F group is instrumental in spreading the word to the Gs and Hs. Geographical contiguity conditions this communication on one hand and marital links on the other. I have included Gs and Hs as examples of reservations on the periphery of the ritual congregation centering in the A-B-C unit, and shall have more to say about their position with respect to the definition of the ritual community in a moment. Other reservations contiguous with the Ds and Fs could have been shown, but there is a limit to the number of reservations which would be pulled into the sphere of A-B-C ceremonial activity. Many people, although aware that *ñillatun* is going to be held, say, on reservation A, are not likely to attend either because they would be unwelcome as outsiders or because their interests lay with other reservations on which *ñillatun* is staged. This limitation helps define the *ñillatun* congregation in regional terms.

At the same time the A-B-C unit is holding yearly *ñillatun*, the other tripartite units are staging ceremonies in a similar cyclical manner. Because of the communication between reservations of ceremonial dates and preparations, Ds, Es, and Fs rarely if ever hold a *ñillatun* on the same day (which really means during the same month or fortnight) as A-B-C. There is little or no coincidence of ceremonial activities, each reservation being free, therefore, to attend the celebration of others. Throughout Mapucheland, there are series of such ceremonial cycles. Between one congregational group and another, ceremonial coincidence does occur, but, because of congregational identification, this is of no importance to the regular participants of any single ritual congregation. Coincidence and noncoincidence are another factor in the definition of the *ñillatun* congregation. The concrete relationships in any region are more complicated than that described in the model diagram, and there are some inconsistencies in the cycles. But the principles of responsibility as outlined hold in all cases of which I am aware, and there seems no reason not to believe that they are generally adhered to throughout Mapucheland where there are sufficient core units for the staging of *ñillatun*. I will deal with significant exceptions in a moment.

From the foregoing discussion, it is apparent that one may 796
consider three aspects in this configuration: (1) reservation- 794
bound lineages within a set of ritually related lineages, (2) 628
reservation communities within a set of ritually related communities, and (3) membership which is both conjunctive (e.g. A-B-C) and overlapping (e.g. A-B-C plus Ds, Es, and Fs as guests; F-F_1-F_2 plus A-B-C, Gs, Hs, and possibly Ds and Es as guests). There is a responsible conjoining, therefore, and a permissive overlapping. In Durkheim's terminology, the first structure emphasizes, as I have described it, obligation, although the element of desirability is fully present. The second set of relationships emphasizes desirability, although, as in the example of the safety mechanism, there is a note of obligation.

A further word about the implications of the model diagram. The characterization of Gs and Hs as peripheral groups is intended to show that the limits of the ritual congregation is a zone of mixed allegiance, involving situational desirability. In short, Gs and Hs may choose to assist at a *ñillatun* held on reservation C. There is no obligation involved. If, then, Gs and Hs belong to distinct ritual spheres (not depicted in the diagram), their attendance at a celebration in either the A-B-C or the F-F_1-F_2 cycle is purely optional. They would tend to assist in *ñillatun* held by Fs more often than those of the A-B-C unit. Their attendance at celebrations of the D and E units would not be regular, but would be conditioned by the presence or absence of celebrations in their own or nearby core units. Furthermore, the peripheral units tend to segment on occasions of pure option. Specifically, G might attend a *ñillatun* held by C, whereas G_1 and G_2 might not. In addition, G_1 might assist at a celebration held by a western reservation at the same time that G_2 is guest at a *ñillatun* given by H set or by a group peripheral to the Hs. Where obligatory participation is absent, desirability and flexibility are major considerations in understanding the structure of the ritual community.

Ritual and Marital Links. For convenience of exposition, 621
each of the reservations represented by hachures is bisected into 613
two unequal parts, the larger taken to indicate the dominant 794
lineage and the smaller a subordinate lineage. This departs from empirical evidence insofar as a number of reservations have

621 more than one subordinate lineage on them. A further departure
613 from the ethnographic material is that the E group (possibly)
794 consists of four reservations and the H group of five. My data
[128] about these congregational units are incomplete, and I have
confined my discussion to the tripartite congregational units as
models. This device, however, affects the graphic presentation of
marriage ties, as these are indicated by the arrows. The arrows
indicate the flow of women, in marriage, from one reservation to
a segment of another. I have shown the necessary minimal
number of arrows to establish marriage links of a patterned
(matrilateral) nature among the reservations in the model. The
fact that there are two more subordinate lineages on reservation
A, for example, from which women pass to two others on B, or
elsewhere, does not affect the value of the abstraction for the
purposes of this discussion. The additional ties follow the
matrilateral pattern. The ones which occur within the congregation
are of importance in indicating that there are even more
multiple and sustained marriage links than shown in the model.
Ties which exist with reservations outside the congregation, not
indicated in the model, must be considered with respect to the
definition of the congregation itself, and with reference to the
correspondence between ritual and marital links, and, therefore,
are of considerable importance to this discussion.

621 It is only since populations became fixed, localized descent
613 groups on many small, contiguous reservations that patrilineal
178 principles of descent, inheritance, and succession may be said to
[794] have crystallized in the formation of corporate patrilineal groups
with a tendency toward increasing, localized membership. We
may speak with accuracy of corporate patrilineages only during
621 the reservation period. After the inauguration of the reservation
613 system alliance patterns came to involve wife-giving and wife-
582 receiving units in the context of which multiple and sustained
178 marriages were contracted over several generations. Before this
177 system became firmly established, marriages were contracted on
[166] an interhousehold rather than on an interlineage basis, and
these ties were not generally revalidated over several generations
because household units would split and their members move
considerable distances over Mapucheland. The reservation system
put an end to this shifting and made for the beginnings of

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the present matrilateral system, but the change was not effected
from one day to the next, nor even in a single decade, with
respect to total Mapuche society.

The most significant way in which to consider marriage
practices in relation to the total order of society is with respect 582
to the groups regularly involved in sustained relationships. Of 621
most importance here, for the structure of morality, is the fact 613
that many of the groups tied most closely together in marriage
also comprise segments of the same ritual congregation, and
without doubt the present-day configuration has its basis in the
nexus between matrilateral marriage and religious ritual.

The verbalized ideal marriage form in Mapuche society is that 582
of a man with his mother's brother's daughter (matrilateral (183)
cross-cousin marriage). Actually, there are few instances in
which a man marries a real mother's brother's daughter, but the
expression of marriage in these terms may be taken to symbolize
the propriety of marriage and the closeness of the units involved.
What actually occurs, however, is that a man marries a woman [601]
who falls into the classificatory category of *ñuke*, a term used to
designate all nubile females of wife-giving patrilineages of which
a real mother's brother's daughter is but one. As I have written 582
elsewhere (1961b), there exists a structure of fixed wife-giving 613
and wife-receiving groups throughout Mapucheland, linked by
matrilateral preference in a system which precludes the direct
exchange of women. I would like to comment further on the
relationship of such groups within the general framework of
congregationalism and the moral order.

In effect, there is a chain of brother-sister ties linking together 613
a seemingly infinite number of patrilineages, there being sys- 602
temic limitations on the ramifications of this linkage only from 593
an individual participant's point of view. As an extension of this
brother-sister linkage, there are reciprocal sets of rights and
obligations which precipitate out in the offspring. The latter
forms the area of social relationships in which courtship and
marriage and considerations of incest and exogamy are most
important. 794

In Diagram IV schematic arrangement of intermarrying 621
lineages (1-34) and multilineal ritual congregations (I-IV) 613
indicates how marriage units fall with respect to ritual congrega- 582

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 119]

[P.116]

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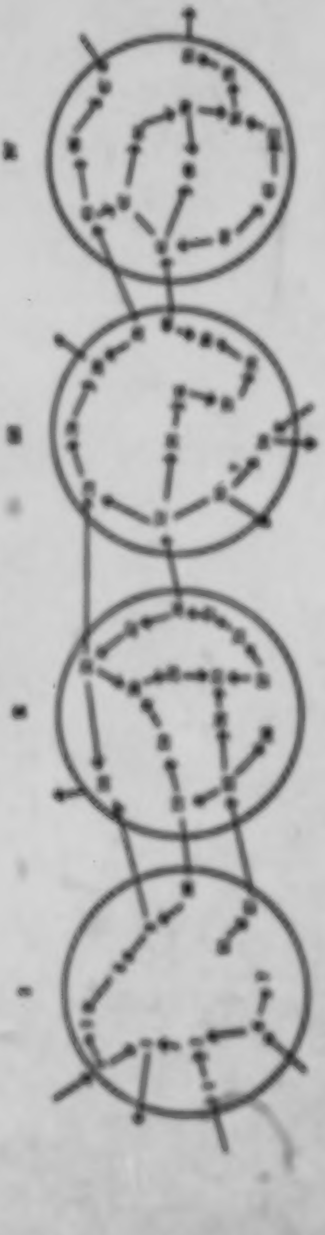

DIAGRAM IV. Intermarrying Lineages and Ritual Congregations

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tions. The arrows represent the directional passage of women in a matrilateral system. Since women pass from lineages one through fifty-four, in a manner of speaking, no single congregational unit, that is I, II, III, or IV, may be said to be self-contained or endogamous, an interdependence shown by arrows between congregations. Still, each congregation appears to have more marital connections among its constituent lineages than these lineages have with others outside the congregation. There appears to be a congregational concentration of marriage links. The diagram is designed to portray this on the basis of quantitative data on marriages among these lineages (thirteen additional lineages were omitted from the diagram because of inadequate data) during approximately ten-year periods over a span of approximately forty years.

A ritual congregation is always a geographical population, whereas marriage alliances may jump the local, congregational boundaries (even to a greater extent than shown on the diagram). On the surface, therefore, there might seem to be a low correlation between marriage alliances and ritual congregationalism, making unclear the possible influence of one structure on the other (i.e. their relationship). But there is more to this apparent discrepancy than meets the eye, as I shall explain in a moment.

It might be said that there is something of an endogamous quality in the ritual congregation. The broader the viewing angle, the greater the degree of endogamy, until in the larger ritual congregation one finds what appear to be a significantly greater number of marriages occurring generation after generation in a single congregation than between its lineal components and those of other congregations. I say "appear" to be significant, because my quantitative data are not such that they would be of statistical significance, for their numerical expression comprises only a small fraction of the Mapuche population. However, any individual (representing his lineage) is able to indicate with a measure of precision the limits of both interacting marriage groups and interacting units of ritual congregational sets (which compose the greater ritual congregation). Taken from a broad regional view, then, there would seem to be a rather high correlation between ritually and maritally inter-

794 acting descent groups. It is my feeling, on the basis of my own
621 historical inquiry, that ritual congregations as they are known
today are a relatively recent phenomenon (also see Guevara
613 1898: 440), somewhat more recently developed than marriage
582 alliance groupings, and that the former are exerting their
[178] influence on the latter. In short, largely because of considerations
of religious morality, the extension of marriage alliances is
becoming narrowed to approximate the confines of the regional
congregational memberships. This seems to be a phenomenon
related to the maturity of the reservation system and an
indication of the salient place ritual participation occupies in
regional identification.

613 The possession, loss, and continual recruitment of women is
582 enveloped by strong moral considerations, expressed in public
ritual at funeral, birth, and marriage ceremonies, and reaffirmed
581 symbolically on other occasions during one's lifetime. Rights to
obtain women from a wife-giving group can hardly be separated
from the strong obligations these entail and the payments (of
land) without which marriage could not occur. When a man
looks outside his wife-giving groups for a spouse his chances are
limited by an absence of these very rights and obligations, since
he is dealing with people who are either strangers to him or are
so committed to other descent groups that any transaction that
might be carried out is done so in an atmosphere of hostility and
mistrust. When one marries outside the well-defined matrilateral
context, one does so outside the area of time-tested rights and
obligations, which usually exist between two groups united
through a succession of alliances, alliances over several generations
which are multiplied in each generation, decade, and year
794 of existence.

As the wife-giving and wife-receiving system developed into
582 its present matrilateral form, the units involved tended more
178 and more to be identified with a local or regional block of
613 reservations. While marriages outside such a locality continue to
582 be contracted, they seem to be much less frequent than in the
past, now that physical mobility has been curtailed and polygyny
178 has declined. Most genealogies show that extra-congregational
595 marriages took place three and four generations ago, during the
794 transitional period when the reservation system had not taken

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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Mapuche

hold in all parts of Mapucheland, at a time when polygyny was 794
still prevalent. The more detailed data I have for the last forty 582
years or so show that most of the marriages contracted a 178
generation ago, and during the last ten years, fall within the [595]
ritual congregation. Formerly established marriage ties with extra-congregational reservations have fallen into the category of half-remembered events. They have ceased to be exploited as potential avenues for the acquisition of wives.

If the range of marital alliances is actually becoming narrower and is coming to approximate the limits of the ritual congregation, as I believe, one of the causes of this nexus is the system of religious morality. I do not suggest that it is the single cause, since other factors, such as a decline in polygyny (in turn related to economic change), are also relative to this condition. This is an area for further study, in view of which it is advisable to say that the congruence of marriage linkage and ritual congregationalism is part of an overall adjustment of Mapuche society to its present natural and social environment, the causes of which are multiple and complex.

However this may be, there is a strong kinship element in the 621
structure of the ritual congregation on the one hand and a 613
clearly identifiable neighborhood basis on the other. It is 794
difficult and perhaps unnecessary to decide which is the more important at present. Anyone standing in the center of a congregational unit, such as A-B-C, F-F_1-F_2, etc., is able to name a group of surrounding reservations connected to his own (lineage) either by ties of marriage or ritual or both. He knows that certain marriages link his own reservation with more distant ones, but he is not sure of the exact nature of these ties, nor precisely why these outlying reservations are not logically members of the ritual congregation to which he himself belongs. Where clarity dims, it seems justifiable to draw the line around the greater ritual congregation. Hachured reservations in model Diagram II fall within this category.

I have found no immediate basis in the older histories or 178
ethnographies for the development of these ritual congregations 621
or the matrilateral marriage system which presently tends to 794
correlate with them. All evidence points to the reservation system itself as the main force which has conditioned twentieth-

178 century developments and given its character to Mapuche
621 society. It seems, therefore, that the *ñillatun* congregation is a
794 product of recent historical changes involving fertility rites of
[241] proportions corresponding to the increasing importance of
agriculture among these people. These rites concern neighborhoods
[613] of people. There has been no simple extension of
localized lineage or family ritual to this larger, heterogeneous
population—the ritual congregation. Rather, the formation of
178 these neighborhood-based ritual congregations suggests that
621 some significant changes have taken place in the structure of
771 ritual action and that a modification of emphasis has occurred
794 with regard to mythical, regional deities. Religious belief has
remained essentially unchanged, however, while ritual practices
have altered in both a quantitative and qualitative sense, to
include larger and more heterogeneous groups within a ritual
congregation.

794 *Dominant and Subordinate* (*unrelated*) *Lineages.* In
613 any consideration of *ñillatun*, even for an adequate understanding
of its culture content, some analysis of lineages is
621 essential. The ritual congregation is not composed of a casual
aggregate of persons, but is made up of persons having membership in patrilineal groups which are traditional repositories of special ascribed rights and obligations involving ceremonial performance. Among these are the guardianship of the ceremonial field (*ñidal melewe*: most sacred place; *ñillatuwe*), the locus of adoration accounted for in myth, and the ritual altars sacred to all members of the congregation. The sphere of congregational activity defines the greater ritual community, in which membership is timeless. Attendance may be regular or occasional, as already discussed, depending on the social and spatial relationship of any group in question to the locus of ceremonial responsibility; but responsible participation is defined by membership in sets of ritually related patrilineages localized on reservations within the greater moral community.

On all multilineage reservations there is a dominant lineage and one or more subordinate lineages, the latter small in membership and structured along the lines described in Chapter One. The dominant lineage is dominant in at least two senses: (1) its members form a majority in the reservation community

12: Faron E-4,5 (1952-1954) 1964
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and, (2) it is the most powerful lineage on the reservation, 794
largely because of a combination of numerical superiority and 613
inheritance rights enjoyed through a single line of relationship 621
to the founding chief. The dominant lineage supplies the major 794
ritual functionaries but allocates responsibility in community- 796
based ceremonies to elders (and other members as well) of the
subordinate lineages. The lesser functionaries—the captains, 613
sergeants, standard bearers, drum beaters, flute and trumpet 621
players, special dancers, whose roles are viewed as ancillary to that of the *ñillatufe*, and the supporting priest-chiefs from participating reservations—constitute important structural links for the integration of the dominant and subordinate lineages on any single reservation, as well as among the several reservations in joint ceremonial participation.

It is the elders of the dominant lineage of the host reservation who make decisions about holding the *ñillatun*, determine most of the numerous organizational details (such as the kinds of beverages to be drunk and used in libation, the kind and number of animals to be sacrificed, and the like), and have most to say about the appointment of lesser functionaries. Its members also make the greatest contributions of food and sacrificial animals. Such contributions represent institutionalized obligations, modified only by considerations of the wealth-status of persons primarily involved. But even a poor lineage elder is compelled to make a token contribution which, since it indicates that he and his closest kinsmen are pure in heart, is accepted as complete fulfillment of his ritual duty.[3]

The heaviest obligations fall on those who are most directly 794
related to the principal ancestors of the various groups in the 769
ritual congregation. If several reservations comprise the core of
participants of a congregation, as is nearly always the case, this
means that several sets of ancestors are propitiated. These [613]
ancestors are very great personages, almost always former war-

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[3] While I do not consider the situational effects of poverty in this general- [035]
ized treatment of *ñillatun*, I must say that continued and extreme poverty does condition the staging of these ceremonies, making them difficult or even impossible to hold regularly in certain parts of Mapucheland or on certain isolated reservations. The implications of this for the realignments of ritual congregations is a topic outside the range of this monograph.

794 time chiefs, who are powerful and beneficent spirits interested in
769 the well-being of all members of the congregation, despite the
613 lack of lineal ties between reservations comprising the moral
community. It seems precisely this conception of ancestral responsibility which has resulted in certain ancestors (again, mainly chiefs) of the participating lineages having become generalized ancestral deities in any given congregational sphere. They are propitiated by patrilineally unrelated members of the ritual congregation who believe they have the welfare of the entire congregation at heart. These are the ancestors who walk with the sons of the gods.

794 Each host reservation ideally has its own priest (*ñillatufe*),
793 who is usually the chief, an elder of the dominant lineage. In the
absence of a priest, some accommodation is made. I have
[622] mentioned the place of the *machi* in such circumstances.
[613] Another accommodation is for the host reservation to invite a
[956] *ñillatufe* from a participant reservation to officiate. When there
are two or more reservations in a congregational nucleus, it presents little or no difficulty to use the chief or *ñillatufe* from another segment of the core unit.

793 A significant feature of each reservation having its own
794 priest-chief is that such a figure symbolizes the connection
between the living and the ancestor-gods, the chief constituting
622 the connecting link in a chain of mutual though asymmetrical
769 responsibilities. Each reservation in a responsible unit ideally
supplies its own priest-chief who lends assistance to the *ñillatufe* of the host reservation and who, verbally on several occasions and symbolically during all phases of the ceremony, represents his group by making orations and food offerings to ancestral spirits. Still, I cannot emphasize too much that this concern with authentic ancestral spirits is not the principal concern of the *ñillatun* assemblage. The chiefs call upon the ancestors of their lineages, the elders of subordinate lineages doing likewise on the same occasions and in the same manner; but the chief, as representative of a multilineage reservation community and as one of several leaders of the ritual congregation, also invokes the generalized, mythical ancestral figures common to the entire ritual community. This serves partly to symbolize his political

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role and at the same enhances (or at least serves to maintain) 622
his political status. 769

It is of interest to consider the part played by in-married 794
women in *ñillatun* ceremonies. I am not referring to the 562
occasional participation of a *machi*, although I might mention 613
that in no instance may she be a lineal member of the host 621
group, for this would jeopardize the ancestral spirits of the hosts. 756
Nor do *machi* have as familiars spirits other than those on the order of a grandmother's or great-grandmother's spirit. These familiars may or may not be ancestral to other lineages in the congregation. Since *machi* tend to marry outside the patterned matrilateral system, the risk of their dealing with spirits of importance to the ritual congregation is slight. In any case, the *machi* represents her reservation as a community without special consideration of lineage membership.

With respect to most in-married women, it may be said that 796
their ritual roles are commensurate with their marriage links 562
with the most responsible males of the reservation. They may 613
have important roles in the preparation and serving of food to 621
special guests, they may be leaders in the various ritual dances; or they may have simpler roles, such as preparing food only for their household and immediate relatives or participating in one or more dances simply as followers. Their presence, however, is demanded. Upon marriage, they receive the right to participate as responsible members of the reservation community and, thereafter, participation is obligatory. That obligation is attached to their being members of a community (and a ritual congregation), not as members of any of the lineages therein. It is significant that in-married women are excluded from preliminary rites, in which lineage ancestors are propitiated, and in [796]
which they have little or no stake. Still, in-married women must [626]
participate in the general *ñillatun* ceremony, and regularly. If [754]
they express a desire not to attend regularly, it is possible that they will be labelled *kalku*.

One effect of the extension of these performance rights to in-married women is that all lineages on any reservation are, through in-married women alone, amalgamated into a single ritual entity. This feature supports the ritual bond which is felt

794 and expressed in other ways by the several lineages on
562 any multilineage reservation. Women enjoy this responsible
613 status only by virtue of their marriage to members of the
621 reservation community. To the extent that they may be said to
comprise a corporate group on these occasions of ritual performance,
it is contingent only on their marriage ties to the
group of responsible males of the community, which indicates,
however, an interesting and important connection between
marriage ties and the ritual expression of moral obligation. To
[769] the extent that marriage ties between reservations correlate with
ritual bonds, in-married women do not have to forsake their
ancestral deities, but are able to observe their propitiation
during the *ñillatun* ceremony. Viewed from the angle of the
matrilateral marriage system, the structural significance of
in-married women is apparent in the integration of the ritual
congregation. I will have more to say about the lack of complete
correspondence between congregational units and marriage
alliance units later.

622 *Role of* Ñillatufe: *The Chief as Priest.* Lineages on any
793 reservation, and reservations in any congregational core (e.g.
794 A-B-C in Diagram II), are symbolically integrated into a
613 functioning ritual entity through the offices of the priest-chief
on each reservation. This person is chief by virtue of his
[182] position in the dominant lineage; he is priest by virtue of his
training for the office of chief. Both positions constitute a dual
status-role based on kinship and extended to the political and
ritual spheres of social action, and both hinge on the fact that
the chief occupies a pivotal position between the living and their
most powerful ancestral spirits, the dead chiefs.

79 Chiefs who work together in any congregational unit during
622 *ñillatun* represent their respective groups before their ancestors
and the regional and pan-Mapuche gods. The chief is ideally the
repository of accumulated ritual lore and ability. His ritual leadership
[613] is guaranteed by the political power vested in him as lineal
heir of the founder of the dominant lineage on the reservation to
which he belongs. He regulates the ritual cycle, with the agreement
of elders among his constituents, important among whom
[628] are the leaders of the subordinate lineages. He participates in
the regulation of the multi-reservational ritual cycle jointly with

chiefs of other reservations within the responsible core, and this 79
is expected of him by the members of his community. If a chief 622
shirks this obligation, as occasionally happens when he is quite [628]
poor or does not care to make contributions, it is an affront to
the ancestors and the gods. His constituents complain. If there
seems some danger of breaking the ritual cycle, members of the
linked reservations begin to grumble. Pressure is brought to bear [626]
on a recalcitrant chief by heads of subordinate lineages on his [613]
own reservation (his informal council) and by the chiefs of the
linked reservations.

Elder of the dominant lineage, repository of ritual knowledge, 622
responsible both to authentic and to mythical ancestors, spokes- 793
man for his entire community, the chief is the only person who 794
is able to integrate the members of his reservation in concerted action and to represent them in the traditional manner in the ritual congregation. It is characteristic of being chief that ritual responsibility rests heavily with the position. The obverse side of this is that ordinary members of the community, who are not themselves elders, generally follow the chief's leadership in ritual matters without question, and often without full understanding or, at least, with apparently greater interest in the more festive as distinguished from the religious details of *ñillatun*.

The chief's ritual leadership among the contemporary Ma- 793
puche, more than any other single factor, bolsters his po- 794
litical leadership. It is doubtful that this state of affairs is a 622
carry-over from prereservation times. Rather, only since the 621
localization of the Mapuche in small agricultural communities 178
has *ñillatun* involved such a large and heterogeneous congrega- 554
tionalism, and only since congregational development of this
sort has taken place has the chief's political authority rested to such an extent on his role in public ritual. Formerly, it rested largely on his military ability, which enabled him to command allegiance in time of hostilities from a greater-than-kinship group.

The close and dependent relationship of the chief's political 793
and ritual leadership to the integration of the reservation 621
community is especially striking in contrast to its absence on 622
reservations not having strong chiefs. These are the kinds 554
studied by Titiev, which might partly account for the great 182
[114]

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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793 difference between his interpretation of Mapuche society and
554 mine. Where strong chiefs are lacking, there is generally weak or
621 marginal participation of the community in *ñillatun*, and the
chief's role as ritual leader falls to the shaman. While I hesitate
622 to conjecture about the priority of ritual or political weakness,
[114] they are without doubt mutually debilitating. The weak chief is
ritually inept and had lost the confidence of his people as a ritual
leader. Often he is uninterested in ritual and makes no claim to
[628] ritual leadership. The members of his reservation must look
elsewhere, to the chiefs of other reservations, for leadership—to
[769] them a distasteful alternative because it means that their own
authentic ancestors are only imperfectly propitiated during the
ñillatun. Since the chief is the elder of the dominant lineage on
[613] the reservation, it loses its control in ritual as well as in political
affairs. Consequently, the reservation segments into its constituent
households or, at least, into the several sublineages of the
formerly dominant one and into subordinate lineages. Subordinate
lineages then achieve an equal footing with the
segments of the formerly dominant one. In the absence of
political and ritual integration (the one implying the other),
the reservation no longer forms a truly corporate community,
[754] and division of land into severalties often ensues. In this kind of
situation, witchcraft plays an eminently dysfunctional role.

182 The chief is not only a personage of great importance at the
ñillatun ceremony, therefore, but he must continue to be of
554 great ritual importance and pass his status more or less intact to
621 his heir, if his reservation is to survive as a corporate community.
622 This of course has great implications for the survival of the
entire ritual congregation, and for Mapuche society as a whole.
793 If the chief does not assume the role of *ñillatufe* (or if the ritual
794 leadership is not entrusted to another elder of the dominant
lineage), the *ñillatun* gradually becomes something else, and
there are both political and ritual repercussions. The chief as
priest has a powerful influence, therefore, in maintaining communal
integrity, in the continuing integration of the ritual
congregation, and in the overall structure of Mapuche morality.
571 The totality of relationship-sets forged in the *ñillatun* ceremony,
796 is, perhaps more than any other single structure in Mapuche
182 society, the configuration which distinguishes the Mapuche as a
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cultural and social entity from the local, provincial expression of 571
Chilean society and culture. It does not distinguish them in the 796
same way that their liking for horsemeat does, or their craving at 182
times for rotten potatoes or the blood-filled lungs of sheep; 181
rather, it functions to maintain Mapuche society as a distinquishable, integrated structure, which the above-mentioned tastes serve to symbolize and in which they can be satisfied.

Awn

Funeral ceremonies—upon the death of one of a pair of 764
spouses—involve complex sets of obligations which ramify 613
through several lineages on any multilineage reservation, extend 602
to one or more affinally related lineages localized on other reservations, and usually include (again under the compulsion of obligatory participation) some persons who are unrelated to either spouse, but who are members of long residence in the ritual congregation. Within this framework, there is some difference between the relationships which are activated and brought into focus upon the death of a male (core member of one of the resident lineages) and his in-married spouse.

In the discussion that follows major referents include the host lineage, that of the husband, which is always sponsor of the funeral ceremony regardless of which of the married pair has died; secondly, the patrilineage of the in-married woman, which always shares responsibility in the ceremony regardless of which spouse has died; next, other lineages in residence on the reservation of either spouse and under compulsion to participate in the service although not patrilineally related to either spouse; and the deceased person, who is always referred to as one of a pair of spouses, married according to matrilateral pattern and resident
according to patrilocal rule. My interest here is funerals in general, 764
with respect to the important institutionalized relations 121
which constitute part of any funeral. When distinctions between male and female funerals need be made, as they will, I will indicate them as the need arises. This procedure entails a certain amount of juggling of referents and angles of vision which, although regrettable in one sense, seems justified by the fact that all funeral ceremonies are understandable only as part of the total configuration of institutionalized relationships

764 121 which hinges on any human death—relationships integral to the structure of Mapuche morality.

761 [754] [776] [764] [787] To the outsider the most impressive aspect of any funeral is that the atmosphere is charged with a fear of sorcery and the presence of malevolent spirits. As discussed in Chapter Three, death is supernaturally caused, even accidental death (*wesa l'an*), and strange noises and other omens of evil are reported in the community after a death. Evil is a cumulative force. The Mapuche are sometimes hard-pressed to explain the death of old people in this context, at least with the logic they apply to untimely death, but they give substantial evidence that no matter what the circumstances, they believe death is attributable [165] to the forces of evil. Formerly, Mapuche are believed to have lived to be centenarians, some having achieved the two-hundred-year mark. Nowadays, Mapuche live no longer than Chileans. The burgeoning army of *wekufe* is always with them. Almost every house—from someone's point of view—has its *kalku*.

764 775 When the corpse is still in the house, during the wake, its spirit is called *l'ayen;* once out of the house, on the ceremonial field, it is called *pellu* (among other names). The point is, that fear of the well-being of the spirit begins immediately when death occurs. During the wake, the *amupellun* (roughly, "so the spirit may go") is automatically and repeatedly practiced, performed in order to release the spirit from the confines of the house and to chase away the *wekufe*. When there are signs that the *wekufe* are lurking about the house, the spirit is still *l'ayen*, which means that the beginnings of the funeral service have not been completely successful.

764 152 Spontaneous imprecations of the evil spirits at the wake and formalized wailing and further imprecation at the funeral ceremony occur on all occasions of death. The community is truly fearful, remorseful, and determined to perform the funeral rites in the most perfect manner known to them. Furthermore, because of this rampant fear, there is a need felt by all who assist at the funeral to clear one's self, one's lineage, and one's household from complicity in death. Attendance and expressions of *kume piuke* symbolize before the entire ritual community that all those in mourning, or those represented by kinsmen who are mourners, are pure in heart.

12: Faron E-4,5 (1952-1954) 1964
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The most elaborate and detailed concern with authentic 769 ancestral spirits is encountered in the funeral ceremony. In all 613 cases, the most important of these are the (dead) members of [764] the maximal lineage of the husband, the living members of which (the entire localized lineage and representatives of the lineage group) share the responsibility of a ritually perfect service in order that the newly released spirit (a fellow lineage mate or his wife) is assured a safe passage to the world of the dead. If the deceased is an in-married woman, her children (members of their father's lineage) will continue to propitiate her spirit as long as they live—both parents conceived of as residing in death with all former members of the residential kingroup, the "reservation in the sky." While this notion of common residence in afterlife has its consolation for the living, it also carries heavy responsibility. One is not only able to propitiate the collectivity of ancestors (*pu am, pu laku, kuifiche,* etc.) but one must do so, since forgetfulness entails penalties, as previously mentioned. Propitiation of ancestors is done as a 769 matter of course during *ñillatun,* and the concept of *kuifiche* 613 may be taken to include the spirits of in-married women. But all 562 female ancestors are relatively neglected. It is also part of the conceptual framework that individual persons make their own private prayer, offered outside the context of *ñillatun* or *awn.* In this context, also, patrilineal ancestors receive more attention than women who married into the local group. After a few generations, women are generally forgotten, whereas grandfathers, great-grandfathers, etc. are better remembered. This is clearly borne out by all genealogies. Nor does a woman's own lineage group pay her the ritual respect it does its male members. The fact that female spirits are neglected in this manner is a weakness in the moral armor of the Mapuche. It is [783] possible that the fears and uncertainties are partly engendered [754] by feelings of guilt over neglecting female ancestors, and that the association of women with sorcery is related to this peculiarity.

In the context of responsible participation, next in importance 613 to the lineage of the husband is that of his wife. Its responsibility 602 is sometimes shared by the other lineages on the woman's natal reservation, usually if the entire reservation community is small

613 and tends to comprise a wife-giving group for the husband's
602 reservation. Whether or not this is the case, the two reservations
are always linked by multiple affinal bonds. Among these the
exact genealogical relationships are generally not known with
certainty and are given no formal recognition as constituting a
social unit.

It will be remembered that in discussing sublineation and the
development of the present system of matrilateral marriage I
mentioned the former practice of wide-range marriage links,
many of which constituted polygynous unions. The existence of
these former unions has, during the maturation of reservation
society, conditioned members of different sublineages to take
wives from different wife-giving groups now localized on several
reservations. In short, most large lineages are internally differentiated by the provenience of wives of members of the
sublineages. Because of this configuration of marriage ties, there
is considerable overlapping and shifting of affinal groups from
one funeral to another, as different wife-giving groups assume
[764] positions of major importance. This of course does not affect the
funeral structure, which is an institutionalized set of relation-
[571] ships throughout Mapucheland, but it does serve to change the
composition of any funeral gathering on successive occasions. Its
net effect is to bring together in recurrent relationships a rather
large and heterogeneous (with respect to lineage membership)
population—and one founded on principles of morality having a
794 strong emotional content. The lineages and reservations most
613 intimately and repeatedly involved in funeral ceremonies tend
to form a group whose membership correlates with that of the
621 *ñillatun* congregation. At the conclusion of this chapter, I will
182 discuss the significance of whatever correlation exists between
[764] the regional congregational expression of *awn*, *ñillatun*, and
marriage. Suffice it here that the broad implication of this
postulated correlation is that, among certain other socially
integrative mechanisms, these three are elemental integrative
forces (of concept and action) at least on a regional level of
analysis. This will hold even if my argument for a more
circumscribed definition of the correlation of marriage alliance
groups and ritual congregation proves inconclusive.

000 I shall deal with the functional aspects of witchcraft in the

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I shall deal with the functional aspects of witchcraft in the 761
next chapter. But here I would like to point out that there is a 764
close connection between marriage bonds and funeral obliga- 754
tions in the context of witchcraft. It is simply that any social 613
group desires, and in large measure is compelled, to show 602
complete lack of complicity in the causation of death of a mem- 783
ber of the ritual congregation. This attitude affects affinals of
the deceased, some of whom are usually considered potentially culpable. All relatives must evidence their freedom from guilt, and they best express their desire to assist in the untrammelled transition of the deceased's spirit to the afterworld by responsible participation in the funeral rite.

Not all social categories mentioned above have equal respon- 764
sibility with regard to the funeral service, nor are all equally 613
suspect of possible complicity in death. Before going on to a 602
more detailed discussion of the institutionalized relationships which constitute *awn*, I will recapitulate the groups most regularly involved in funeral obligations, also indicating where responsibility becomes attenuated. The lineage group (nonlocalized members included) of each spouse is primarily involved, each carrying the heaviest responsibility for the safe passage of
the spirit from this world to the next. Their freedom from com- [761]
plicity in the supernatural causation of death is not seriously questioned. Other wife-giving groups are also in attendance. If the decedent is a male, these are groups related through the marriage of his closest lineage brothers. If the decedent is an inmarried woman, a different set of affinal groups is concerned—those into which her lineage sisters have married, her husband's patrilineage of course being one of these. By no means all members of these sets of affinal groups attend the funeral. Rather, just the most closely related households participate, in some sense, to be sure, as representatives of their reservation communities, although they do not shoulder the responsibility for all members of their respective residential kingroups.

Placing the Blame. Every Mapuche belongs to three 764
well-defined groups: household, lineage, reservation commu- 602
nity. He is also a member of a larger and less defined relationship 613
group (in which obligations are therefore less defined), includ- 571
ing the patrilineage of his mother and other lineages related through women married to his lineage brothers and through

764 lineage sisters to wife-receiving groups. The more wide-ranging
602 the marriage ties of his lineage (and they are becoming
613 narrower) and especially of his sublineage and immediate
571 family, the greater the number of different groups represented at
his funeral. The least closely related of these persons and groups
764 are those which are most suspected of having had a hand in the
602 death of a lineage mate or his wife.* This is a fact of which they
are fully aware themselves, and all must appear at the funeral
613 services in order to free themselves from this shadow of doubt
578 by speaking the praises of the dead (*weupin*). If any of these
783 people have had a serious falling out with the deceased and have
754 threatened him at any time in the past, the other participants at
the funeral are particularly alert to their behavior, especially to
the words they speak over the coffin or at the wake. Responsible
participation is accepted by the Mapuche as good evidence of
freedom from guilt, since it is felt that a person responsible for
another's death would be very reluctant to make an appearance
at his funeral, for fear of being caught out and having vengeance-by-witchcraft
rebound on himself.

764 I purposely emphasize the compulsory aspects of responsibility
to participate in funeral services. It is accepted by the Mapuche
182 that much of the funeral party participates in order to speed the
571 new spirit along a straight road to the halcyon afterworld. It is
613 also recognized that all present partake of food and drink in
602 abundance as an invariable part of the ceremony. It is through
this communion of goodfellowship that the social solidarity
necessary to the success of the funeral rite is symbolized.

761 Nowadays, there is no compensation sought in cases of death.
602 If blame is fixed on any individual at all, this is solely the
613 responsibility of a very small group of the closest patrilineal

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[581] * This attitude appears to be a latent function of sorcery in the context
[597] under examination: it tends to maintain the status quo by making it easier
[571] and more secure for a man to marry into a fully-established wife-giving
group. We therefore have a reaffirmation of moral obligations by successive
and multiple alliances between two localized lineages, and the reaffirmation
of far-reaching affinal ties among the membership. The concordance of
alliance groupings with ritual congregation, to the extent that this occurs,
bolsters both ritual and marital relationships, by leading to a greater understanding
and trust, which makes for more successful interaction sanctioned
by the moral order.

12: Faron E-4,5 (1952-1954) 1964
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kinsmen of the deceased. The overwhelming tendency is for the 761
group of surviving relatives to show that harm came from 602
outside its own lineage (and reservation) and that death was 613
caused by the vague, generalized forces of evil, the *wekufe*. The fact that these forces of evil are capable of malevolence is mentioned time and again. Placing the blame entirely outside 761
the residential group and, finally, determining that the most 613
closely related affines are innocent of complicity has an obvious 602
function in maintaining harmonious relationships which have 182
been threatened by death and evil-doing. Formal emphasis is placed on the exoneration of the entire group of relatives present 783
or represented. After the funeral ceremony has progressed for 578
several hours and ceremonial wine has flowed, the ideal tranquility tends to give way to occasional interpersonal animosities. While the formal statement of the funeral ceremony absolves all the participants from guilt, individuals never fail to form private notions about culpability. The circle of suspicion is never really broken, and it sometimes cross-cuts the closest ties of affinity, contrary to cultural ideals. Upon closer inspection, it is seen that these ties are cross-cut in especially significant ways.

Mapuche recognize that if their relationship to their ancestors 761
were perfect, there would be little to fear from the forces of evil. 769
Neglect or offence of ancestral spirits is, therefore, the greatest— 602
ultimately, the only—crime, the only moral wrong they are able 613
to commit. Any person is responsible to his lineage ancestors, a 578
responsibility with which he complies on numerous occasions in his lifetime. He also has a set of ancestors who are affinally related to his lineage. This is an ill-defined set of spirits, which are by no means equally propitiated during one's lifetime. The major responsibility for their propitiation is acknowledged to rest with their own lineal descendants. A man, for example, knows that the spirits of certain wife-giving groups are regularly propitiated, since these groups (or most of them) constitute segments of the ritual congregation to which he himself belongs. There are wife-givers, however, who no longer maintain sustained marital relationships with his lineage, affinal links having been established in the past and then not renewed through subsequent marriages. And, perhaps, even more importantly, there are groups who formerly received wives, but no longer

761 maintain this sort of relationship. These groups fall outside the
ritual congregation. They seldom attend its funeral services.
769 There are stories which rationalize the breakdown of relationships
602 with these groups, laying the blame upon them. Little is
613 actually known about their contemporary membership, who are
578 relative strangers. One's own closest relatives are not suspected
of having been instrumental in causing death by witchcraft; and
complete strangers would have little or no cause to do so.
Therefore, the reasoning continues, persons related through an
attenuated, half-forgotten affinal link are interested strangers,
who are capable of wishing and perpetrating mortal harm.
[783] Unrelated neighbors also fall under suspicion, but they usually
clear themselves by participation in the communal funeral
service.

754 Witchcraft practiced between members of a lineage is not
578 unknown. It also occurs between nonrelated persons co-resident
on a reservation, or in adjacent reservation communities. It not
602 only occurs, but it is an almost continual occurrence. In-
613 married women are in fact notorious practitioners against one
another, especially in the absence of lineal ties among them or
their husbands. Almost anybody may fall under suspicion at one
time or another. But this practice is not for the purpose of
causing death. In no case of which I am aware was a charge of
homicidal sorcery levied against a lineage member, member of a
wife-giving or wife-receiving group in sustained relationship,
or a nonrelated person in the category of neighbor of long
standing—all of whom are members, by and large, of the same
ritual congregation. Thus, suspicion is again cast on the distant
groups (physically and socially) related through marriage a few
generations ago, or those related through a random marriage. A
group in this category becomes the isolate agreed upon in any
discussion of moral culpability in death.

761 The only other logical explanation of death is the irresponsible
794 action of the freewheeling forces of evil, one of the collectivity
621 of *wekufe*. The comforting nature of this thought, vis-à-vis the
solidarity of the ritual congregation and its lineal and residential
182 segments, is apparent. The local group is absolved of murder.
[769] The moral community is at peace with itself. The total
assemblage at any funeral propitiates specific ancestral spirits

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and shows deep concern for the passage of the newly departed spirit. This is a restraining force against evil operating upon or within ancestral ranks. The loss of a member is disturbing, threatening, since guilt is experienced because the ancestors have not been propitiated sufficiently to protect the living. Partial atonement and renewed security are possible only through the perfection of the ritual of death. Compulsion and desirability work hand in hand to the end of concluding the perfect *awn*. Freedom from complicity, then, expressed in funeral participation, is another defining feature of the ritual congregation.

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Concluding Remarks

Funeral rites differ from fertility rites in organizational principles, being more selective in membership at any given *awn*. But in viewing funerals as a set of ritual obligations over time, the totality of relationships involves all members of the ritual congregation. The *nillatun* and *awn* congregations comprise all the persons and groups participating in either and involve the same panoply of beliefs and customs. I believe that enough evidence has been presented to show that these rituals do call the entire congregation into concerted action, that they do function to revitalize the moral community, integrate the several segments of the larger neighborhood—and that this is possible only because ritual expression and moral values comprise a single, indivisible system which governs social action. A definition of the ritual congregation may be arrived at in two ways. One is an empirical manner involving a set of questions to determine precisely which reservations in any given region participate regularly in both *awn* and *nillatun*. This I have done with some success in the Toltén region and have used data collected there to construct the model presented as Diagram II.

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Another way of defining the ritual community is that emphasized in this chapter through the use of a model set, rather than an actual set, of reservations, and considering *awn*, *nillatun*, and marriage alliances. A ritual congregation is simply that regular assemblage of reservations which not only participates in *nillatun* and *awn* but which is also related through sustained marriage ties. It is my experience that this model is applicable with

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794 significantly high correlation among the eighteen reservations
62 indicated in Diagram II. Those not directly tied together by
marriage links, in the expectable patterned manner, indicate, I
602 believe, the incompleteness of my data. This dual linkage of
marriage and ritual groups occurs much too frequently to be
[184] mere chance. To this extent, my data on matrilateral marriage
and ritual participation for other parts of Mapucheland indicate
that this kind of linkage is general among the Mapuche, rather
than peculiar to the Toltén region.

613 The fact that there is not a 1:1 correlation between ritual
794 congregation and the totality of marriage alliances of the
constituent reservations is understandable on two counts. In the
621 first place, and this is the aspect which is undergoing change,
581 former polygynous tendencies have made for far-reaching marriage
582 ties and the existence of potential groups of wife-givers
outside the congregational bounds. This is of less significance
[579] than the second point. The second point involves a consideration
[178] of the relationship between affinity and sorcery, or the
[754] moral community and the existence of evil. Elsewhere (Faron
1961a; 1962) I have discussed the Mapuche system of matrilateral
marriage and the absence of any discernible circular
000 system of relationships. The notion of a circular pattern (e.g. as
elaborated by Lévi-Strauss, Leach, Needham) is intriguing and,
as a high-level abstraction, I believe it may be applicable to total
Mapuche society and, logically, to any other in which women
pass in only one direction in a system of wife-giving and
wife-receiving units. Still, as an abstraction it is so general that
its conceptualization tells about the interaction of systems of
marriage and religious morality, especially at the local level on
which blame for death, or at least its explanation, must be
viewed as having its source outside some sort of local or regional
entity.

794 In this regard, the arrows indicating the passage of women in
613 marriage, as they appear in Diagrams II and III, do less violence
to actual relationships than might be expected in a model
582 representation. They indicate, among other things, that there is
621 no circular relationship—at least not within the ritual congregation.
This latter point is most important for the conceptualization
of sorcery and notions of culpability within the context of
marriage and neighborhood.

A,1 [Errata: see category 116, p. 111, for corrections -- Analyst]

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marriage and neighborhood. If total marriage relationships may be viewed as circular or as a system of interlocking circles, then it is the very departure from this abstraction which is important for an understanding of Mapuche morality—or at least that aspect of it considered so far in this monograph. If there were these marriage circles at the local level, then I should think the structure of *rewe* and perhaps filiation would be rather different from what it is. In other words, if there were complete concordance between the extension of marriage alliances and that of membership in the ritual congregation, then the Mapuche would either have to place responsibility for homicidal sorcery within the congregational unit or completely outside the sphere of affinal relationships. This would affect the entire structure of Mapuche morality, and, should it ever occur, it would be worth examining as a starting mechanism in cultural and social change.

Five: SHAMANISM AND SORCERY: THE SISTERHOODS AND THE STRUCTURE OF SOLIDARITY

128 754 756 THIS chapter contains much ethnographic material supportive of a structural-functional interpretation of shamanism and sorcery in Mapuche society. Out of the descriptive material certain problems will emerge. These will be discussed to some extent seriatim but will be analyzed with reference to Mapuche solidary relationships in the latter part of the chapter. Some historical judgments will be made and historical interpretations of others judged. While the main emphasis of this chapter is synchronic analysis, historical insight into Mapuche symbolism will be of some help in understanding contemporary notions of good and evil.

756 Machi: *Marshalling the Forces of Good*

It is because of her ability to cure illness and prevent death that people place their faith and trust in a *machi*. She always inspires a good deal of awe on the part of her clients and people in general, for she spiritually enters the realm of supernatural beings and forces. In a manner of speaking, the *machi* enters the holy of holies, communes with and is possessed by the forces of good and is thereby able to control the forces of evil. The *machi* is the most continually active member of any community in dealing with right and wrong. Her livelihood and her spiritual survival depend on preoccupation with Mapuche morality. Her close association with the sacred realm of Mapuche society symbolizes her separateness from ordinary people.

[171] The Mapuche shaman's paraphernalia and curing practices
have a good deal in common, at least in outward appearance,
with the classic Siberian shamanistic pattern described by
[534] Bogoras and others. Her basic props consist of a *kultrun*
(shallow drum made from a wooden bowl covered with animal
[778] skin), a single drumstick (always decorated with symbols of
special significance to the *machi*), bells and/or a gourd rattle, a

12: Faron E-4,5 (1952-1954) 1964
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rewe (a step-notched and carved pole outside her house, which 756
she climbs during certain ceremonies), considered to contain [534]
power transmitted by *ñenechen* and the *machi's* familiars [778]
(*pillan*).

The *machi* must be able to undergo spirit possession and 756
communicate through an interpreter (*thungulmachin*) who 787
tells the *machi* the things she revealed while in a state of
trance. For while possessed, the *machi* is unaware of what she [198]
says and does and often uses a secret language consisting of a
set of sacred formulas. She sometimes handles hot coals and 756
passes her arms through fire. It is said that *machi* used to [789]
place hot coals in their mouths and were able to walk barefoot
over glowing embers. Also, they customarily blew tobacco smoke [756]
over their patients' bodies in the four cardinal directions, a [823]
tradition which some continue to observe.

The *machi* enters a state of trance, during which possession 755
occurs if she is successful, only in order to cure the most serious 756
illnesses. Whether there is possession or not, her rhythmic incantations and drum-beating always have some autohypnotic effect and lend a mysterious, otherworldly air to her performance. Using herbal remedies (*lawen*), massaging affected parts of the body, sucking those parts where invisible venomous darts have entered, and spraying water over the body are also important features of a curing ceremony (*machitun*). Most cures are first attempted by essentially medicinal means, overtly magical cures being resorted to when herbal concoctions appear to have no remedial effect. *Machi* agree that supernatural curing exhausts them and that it is dangerous to be possessed by their familiars, one's own soul (*am*) being placed in jeopardy during trance states. The danger is twofold: the returned familiar spirit may be captured by a *kalku* and turned against the *machi*, and the *machi's* loosed soul might be captured by a *kalku*, whereupon the *machi* herself could be forced to become a witch. A final consideration of whether a supernatural cure is attempted is the patient's ability to pay the high cost of the performance.

Nowadays, the vast majority of *machi* are females. Most of 756
those I met seemed to be leading usual enough domestic lives, [178]
although they had married comparatively late in life. It was [462]
immediately apparent in some cases that these women domi-

756 nated the domestic scene. Their husbands showed them greater [593] than ordinary consideration, listened to their opinions in a somewhat subservient manner, and remained largely in the background except when spoken to and called upon to assist their wives.

Shamanistic lore is sometimes learned from one's mother or a woman on the mother's side of the family, but a *machi* does not, according to the few genealogies I was able to obtain, inherit power from one's mother or from a close kinswoman. I will consider this obviously significant concept later in the chapter. Whatever the nature of inheritance, whether or not a woman trains to become a *machi* depends on her personal capabilities and special qualities, as well as on the availability of a teacher who appreciates them, and the willingness or ability of her parents to pay the cost of instruction. All *machi*, and therefore, all neophytes, must demonstrate exceptional sensitivity to dream experiences, perspicacity in interpersonal relationships, good memories, and adeptness in making herbal remedies for most [554] common illnesses. Much of their reputation in curing the more common fevers and malaise depends on their store of remedies; only *machi* with extraordinary ability to enter trance are sought out for the curing of illnesses which appear to forebode death.

Training includes the mastery of lengthy and intricate orations and songs (partly in a special language) and the concoction of appropriate remedial potions. As neophytes, young women perform a series of menial chores, such as heating the *machi's* [illegible] to tighten the skin, gathering herbs, and preparing medicines under their teacher's supervision. They spend long hours committing to memory the various incantations. The [787] most difficult and crucial part of their training is developing an [276] ability to induce trance, for which there is no use made of narcotics. Finally, a *machi* must perform before her teacher and other *machi*, proving her ability, in a ceremony variously called *machitun*, *machipurun* (most common), *pillantun*, or *ñekurewen*, during which she becomes symbolically united with the sacred branches of the cinnamon (*canelo*) tree.

Shamans sometimes train their own daughters, provided they have suitable qualities of alertness and a proclivity for handling

supernatural events and forces (e.g. as indicated by their dreams 756
and, perhaps, visions). They also take any promising young girl into their house for training, for which they are paid well. But girls who have recovered from serious illness under the *machi*'s care are considered prime material as trainees, since during their sickness they have already dealt successfully with supernatural agents—a demonstration of their courageousness and sensitivity. It is said that a *machi* will sometimes coerce a young girl whom she has cured into becoming a trainee. *Machi* acknowledge that this sometimes happens, saying that they do this primarily to keep their profession alive for the good of the people, and that they select the most suitable girls to this end.

One *machi*, who was a particular friend of mine, was training 756
one of her three daughters along with two other girls, both 159
distantly related to her through the distaff side of her family. The story of her own calling into the profession follows:

> *When I was a young girl I was very sick and almost died. I had large boils all over my body* [showing arms and legs] *and in my hair. My family was very poor. My mother was a* machi, *but she had little success and did not control powerful spirits. Because of this she was unable to cure me. I recovered through my own power and from what I had learned from my mother. I did not have her knowledge, but I had more power.*
>
> *One day I was tending the sheep when I saw a pure-white lamb walk out of the bushes toward me. The lamb followed me all over. Suddenly, I saw a large kultrun* [drum] *over the bushes. It was covered with a pure-white lamb skin and there was a blue and white drumstick with bells attached to it. I decided that this vision was presented to me so that I would become a* machi. *I talked about this with my mother, but she did not know what to do. She felt that her powers were failing and that she could not instruct me properly. My mother later became a great* machi, *but now she is too old to practice anymore.*
>
> *I was sick with boils again, but this time I was able to do my work. I decided to go and get cured by a famous* machi *in Maquegua, near my natal reservation* [a woman who was her mother's mother's maternal aunt]. *Because my father was very poor, his brothers and sisters contributed to the cost of my cure and training. The* machi *who taught me asked for 600*

756 *pesos* [a very large sum of money twenty years ago], *a new*
159 *house with room enough for me to sleep alone, and some sheep. I stayed with her for several years and learned a good deal. I was a good pupil, but she did not teach me everything she knew. After about five years I was ready. I was almost as good as my teacher, because I had special power that she did not have. I called on my own powerful pillan.* [Asked about this in detail, she said the following.] *My mother told me that the women in our family numbered machi among them, and that it was their spirits who possessed me and made me wise.*

Now I am successful and make a lot of money. It is not easy to be a machi. People think it is easy, and they say that the machi is rich and fat and does not have to work. But my husband works as hard as any man. I work harder than other women. When I am possessed by a spirit, I am close to death. It is dangerous and I do not like to do it. Young machi, as I did myself, like to have the spirits enter them because it is exciting, but I am getting older now and more careful. My house burned down last year, and even the orchard was damaged. I know the evil spirit responsible for this. Long ago I cured a man, but he would not pay me what I asked, and then he died. Now his spirit has been captured by a kalku and sent to fight me.

The story of how a male *machi* began is also of interest:

I was born blind, and they call me waillepen. My mother died because of me. I was raised by my father's sister who lived with us. My father died when I was small, and all my brothers and sisters died. My father's sister married a poor man who came to live in my father's house. He was a bad man. People called him a kalku, but he did not have any power. He was just mean. The people chased him away, though, and we all went with him. We lived in Boroa until I was a young man. There my stepfather had an uncle who was a machi and who talked often with me. I learned a lot from him, but I had no power. I never dreamed.

I used to walk a good deal, and one day I kept on walking. I finally walked as far as Argentina and all through Chile as far as Puerto Montt. I have crossed the Andes many times. I heard many things in the houses where I lodged. I worked for people making spoons, baskets, and all sorts of things. I can weave better than a woman, but they have to show me where the colors are.

One night I dreamed that I could see. I had this dream for 756
several months, then I lost it. It bothered me no longer to have 159
this good dream. I finally went back to Boroa to see my laku 787
*[father's uncle] and found that he had died. I wanted him to
explain things to me. I told another machi about my dream,
and she liked it. I stayed with her for several years, but never
slept with her. She taught me many things.*

*Gradually, I began to have power. I began dreaming again,
and used to dream about my laku, the machi. The woman I
was with did not like this; she thought it was dangerous. So I
left her. I kept on having dreams, and I began to learn what
they were about. I began to work cures on sick people, although
I did not know any remedies. I made a drum which I beat at
night. After this, my dreams were more powerful than ever
before. I felt power, and used it to cure sick people where I
stayed. I finally came to Pelehue [Toltén], where I married a* 756
widow with children—these. Now I have several children by 159
*my own semen. My wife has died. I could not save her. Maybe
I am losing my power. My daughter [stepdaughter] and her
husband live with me and take care of things.*

I do not cure any more. I do not know much about remedies. 756
I only cure very sick people, like the crazy boy who lives near 755
where you and your wife stay. I made two holes in his head to 159
*let out the wekufe. I think they are still with him. He was very
crazy and very sick all the time, and the doctor [Chilean]* [752]
*could not help him. He came to me and I cured him in a
month, but he is getting sick again. He is crazy. I have no
patience with plants and rubbing the body like a matrona.
Men are more powerful machi than women. They are not afraid* 756
to talk to the spirits. I talk with them at night. I frequently 159
have very good dreams. 787

This *machi* also said that he had been possessed only a few
times, and that his greatest power lay in dreaming and communing with the *pillan*. He would visit a very sick person in his
house, remain with him until he had a powerful dream, and [762]
then cure according to the dictates of the dream—cures which [757]
often required bloodletting and surgery. He continually maintained that his power lay outside himself.

Ordinary illnesses, such as colds, light fever, broken bones, 75
and so on, are either treated at home by a *matrona*, or by a
Chilean clinician in town, both of whom charge less than a
machi.

756 *machi*. The latter[1] is often called upon to assist at difficult births,
845 if she is known to be especially skilled at delivery. In this role,
the performance is not essentially magical, although an initial
incantation is made to insure success. The *machi* is called in on
[844] these occasions to provide practical knowledge in delivery—
[554] infusion of herbs, massage, and so forth. As her reputation grows
so does her clientele.

75 Illness is attributed to the persistence of evil forces, since the
wekufe are always with one in any case; thus when recovery is
delayed and death seems to threaten, a *machi* is called in. The
young man who had the operation on his head had gone to see
a Chilean doctor in town, but when his headaches and nausea
did not ease he consulted the blind *machi*, whom he was certain
would at least deal with the *wekufe* even though success was not
[648] assured. Their indifference to Mapuche notions of illness and
[197] their obvious inability to deal with the forces of evil have
worked against Chilean doctors' influence in Mapucheland.

753 Supernaturally induced, illness may come from intrusion into
787 the person of some malignant quality or object. These intrusions
are associated with certain signs or symptoms, which, if not
already apparent to the patient, are revealed to him by the
machi. Dreams, omens, contacts with *witranalwe*, and so forth,
all may give rise to illness. Examples of bad omens are the
following: the death of a tree in an orchard, a tree flowering
after bearing fruit, one's falling down and sitting on the ground,
evidence of dampness under the bed, a hen crowing like a cock,
and all the evidence for the presence of forces of evil mentioned
already. In dreams, having one's hair cut is a sign of poverty and
hardship. Being shaven, walking barefoot, falling from a tree,
having teeth pulled, being arrested by the police—all these
dreams presage sickness of one kind or another. These dreams
755 are discussed by the people, and the discussion either serves to
756 dispel fear or reinforce it to such an extent that the person
becomes worried enough to consult a *machi*. Since shamanistic
curing is always costly, it is not a thing which is undertaken
lightly. Then, too, *machi* are not visited professionally without
good reason, for they are somewhat feared. The *machi* will
clarify dreams or omens and recommend herbal remedies. This
is about the simplest curing technique and involves no magical

[1] [i.e. the machi -- Analyst]

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operations, merely the shaman's professional knowledge. There 755
are many old men and women who have a store of knowledge 756
about medicinal plants which vies with that of the *machi*, but they have no power and receive no payment for their assistance.

When illness is serious, especially of a very painful nature or accompanied by high fever, a *machi* will be called in by the person's family to make a diagnosis and effect a cure. This involves a fairly elaborate ceremony (*machitun* or *pillantun*) which may last a day or more. *Machi* are well rewarded for their services when successful, but their reputation suffers when they fail. People become suspicious of them if they have a series of failures. For this reason a *machi* will be very careful to diagnose illness before attempting a cure. If she decides that the patient is likely to recover if properly treated, she will proceed with the cure. If the patient seems too near death, the *machi* will often decline to take the case and beg off on the grounds that she has been called in too late or even that she is not sure her power is strong enough. This calculated bit of honesty raises the percentage of her cures and, as well, her status in the community.

The reaction to a shaman is recorded in the following vignette 755
as told by a man of about fifty-five years of age: 756
159

> *Many years ago I was very sick. They called a* machi *to hold a* machitun. *She came and looked me all over. There were many of my father's brothers present who talked to the* machi *about me and the ceremony. All of them agreed that a* machitun *should be held.*
>
> *The* machi *gave orders to the* thungulmachin *to bring herbs, urine,* canelo *leaves, and other things from her house to my father's. Meanwhile, they danced around the house and shouted at the* wekufe. *All the while they drank a lot of* chicha *to make the cure effective. The* machi *drank and smoked her pipe.*
>
> *I was very sick that night. The next day the* thungulmachin *returned with the things he was sent for. I was made to inhale chili-pepper smoke to clear my head and lungs. The* machi *rubbed me with the sacred leaves and putrid urine. She prayed over me for two days. I became worse. They chased the* machi *away when she told them they had not called her in time, and they did not pay her. They called a priest of the church [Catholic] who came the next day to see me. That night,* [787]
> *before he came, I saw an* anchimallen. *It was standing in a*

755 *corner of the house looking directly at me. Nobody else saw it.*
756 *I was too sick to tell them it was there. It wore a coffee-colored*
159 *chamal wrapped around it, long hair which reached almost to*
787 *the ground, and it was very ugly. It was no more than two*
feet high.

When I finally told my father that I had seen the anchimallen, he became very excited and wanted to recall the machi. The others told him it would be better to wait for the priest, since the machi would not return to the house where she was insulted. My father compromised. He said that he wanted to get me out of the house, away from the anchimallen, to another house where the machi would visit if the priest failed to come. They carried me to my uncle's house, which was nearby. It is there that the priest came to see me the next day. After talking to the priest and taking the medicine he gave me, I never saw the anchimallen again. The priest chased it away with the cross and the Bible. I have never seen the wekufe since.

755 The greatest danger in all cases of serious illness is "soul-
[753] loss." Because of the weakened condition of the person in either
illness or sleep, the soul (*am*) is exposed to the forces of evil,
which may capture it. Fever is often felt to be caused by the
grappling between the soul and these extraneous forces. The
machi dispels the evil, reduces the fever. First she diagnoses the
exact cause of illness. The exactness of diagnosis is one thing
which serves to differentiate her from other practitioners, such
as *matronas* and Chilean doctors. If the *wekufe* possess the
body, the *machi* drives them out. If they have captured the soul,
[782] she recovers it if possible. This is initiated by incantation.
Ñenechen is prayed to and the *machi's* familiars (*pillan*) are
pressed into service through her power, or at least through her
sensitivity and her ability to commune with them.

[753] Soul-loss, therefore, is considered the most serious of all
illness, because especially strong power is needed to retrieve the
soul from the hands of the *kalku* before it is contaminated and
irrevocably lost. Protecting the soul from falling into the *kalku's*
power is a different kind of task, signalized by the recovery of
755 someone from a lesser illness. One case in which a *machi* failed
to retrieve the soul of her patient was described to me by a
159 forty-year-old man. I relate it below in much abbreviated
756 form.

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When I was young my sister became very sick and it was decided to have a machitun for her. The machi came one morning with her kultrun and bells. The thungulmachin carried the machi's remedies in his saddle bags, which he placed inside the door of our house. All the family was present. They all knew the machi. She came over to where I was sitting with my sister and talked to both of us. We knew her well, and often played with her children. She was a relative of my mother.

To find out the cause of illness, the machi prayed to her pillan to aid her. The pillan are her ancestors who used to be machi. From them she obtains her power to conquer the wekufe. They enter her body and tell her what is the cause of illness, and if it is possible to cure it. After a while the pillan entered the machi. She began to wail and the thungulmachin sat very close to her to hear her words. She began to shake all over and could not control her hands or arms. She dropped the kultrun into the fire by mistake, and the thungulmachin pulled it out quickly.

The machi talked in gasps. It was hard to hear her. She used many odd words, the way machi do. I could not understand much of what she said. She opened her eyes and lighted her pipe from the fire. She blew smoke over her hands and arms. Then she came over to where my sister was and lifted her covers and blew smoke all over her naked body.

Then the machi sat down at the fire, and the thungulmachin began to tell her what she said when she was possessed. He told her what herbs to use. He said that wekufe had stolen my sister's soul and that a kalku who lived in the mountains had it. He told her that she had to put the blade of her knife on her arms and legs before she mixed the remedy.

The machi still trembled from time to time. She placed the blade of the knife on her arms and she stopped trembling. Then she took cold water and mixed it with the herbs she had placed in her bowl. She rubbed this over my sister's body. This took about an hour. She stopped rubbing and started to beat her drum and sing over my sister.

Then she was possessed again. This lasted only a few minutes. The thungulmachin had to hold her or she would have collapsed into the fire. He told her that the girl would die. The machi told my father that she could not do any good, that she could not recover my sister's soul. She sat there for a long time. My father talked to her once in a while, but there was not much talking. Then she got up and went off. She rode off with the

755 *thungulmachin. She told my father that only the kalku could*
756 *reprieve the life of my sister, and that this was unlikely. She*
159 *said that she could do nothing, but that my father should*
call upon his own ancestors and ñenechen. Two days later my
sister died.

761 When death occurs there is sometimes a desire on the part of
763 the deceased's closest relatives to determine its exact cause. Ex-
787 actness in such cases is within certain flexible limits. There is no
way except through the intervention of shamans to find out the exact sorcerer, and even less chance that the exact evil-wisher, the *kalku's* client, will be discovered. Divination in the form of autopsy, still practiced by the Mapuche, is therefore designed to comfort the living relatives by showing that death has been caused by some irresponsible force of evil. The following story points this up significantly. It was told me by the son of a *thungulmachin.*

My father was a thungulmachin, a machi's helper. He was her grandson and she taught him many things, because she loved him. He learned much from her and could often diagnose illness, but he had no power. He never tried to become a machi.

One time, after my great-grandmother died, my father was called upon to diagnose a case all by himself. It was the body of a
dead little boy. His people were afraid that his spirit had been
[553] *taken by a kalku, and that he might become an anchimallen,*
since he was still without a name [i.e. had not undergone the lakutun naming ceremony].

My father took his knife and cut open the boy's stomach, finding a ball of water inside after he withdrew the intestines. He said that showed the boy had been killed by an arumko [a water spirit]. *The people were happy he had not been taken by a kalku. They paid my father well.*

Bones, appendix, and liver are all used in determining
supernatural causation, and divination results in fairly non-
[178] specific interpretation of this sort. *Machi* say that they do not
perform autopsy often nowadays, although almost all of them claim to know how to interpret the signs, having learned to make these judgements during their training period. They say that people no longer demand that autopsies be made; that once

a person dies people assume that they themselves are in grave 761 787
supernatural danger, autopsy or not. [763]

A simple method of divining the cause of death, and therefore the extent to which the survivors themselves are threatened, is to place a bowl of flour near the head of the corpse. If some of the flour is gone after the night passes, the person's spirit has eaten it, which indicates that the spirit is hungry and well and not in the hands of *kalku*. It is again a consoling notion, and much less expensive than the services of a specialist.

Machi claim that they are difficult to persuade to perform 75
counter magic against a *kalku*. While such enterprise is entirely 761
legitimate, it places the *machi* in the same general camp with the *kalku* and, if the people are at all suspicious of her, could ruin her reputation. People tend to confirm this claim, saying that *machi* no longer perform magic directly against sorcerers, at least not against professional sorcerers. *Machi*, therefore, content themselves and their clients with preventing death and curing illness by chasing away evil spirits, rather than by killing witches (i.e. causing their bodies to die) and releasing the captured spirits. At the death of a patient, then, a *machi* usually has no further service to offer.

Machi always operate in an atmosphere charged with danger, 75
but they see a great difference between chasing away evil spirits sent by a *kalku* and killing the *kalku* herself. Although *machi* do not like to deal directly with *kalku*, they are not reluctant to discover them, which is much less dangerous. This is generally done in a ceremony called *kalkutun*.[1] The ceremony lasts a long

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[1] I have never witnessed this ceremony, but I managed to persuade a 123
machi friend to enact a modified version of it. The ceremony followed the 755
basic pattern suggested in the vignettes above. In the darkened room, the 754
(denied) ventriloquism was very effective. From time to time, the *machi*
threw straw on the fire and, as corners of the room became lighted momen-
tarily, threw her voice in that direction. My wife's supposed inability to [198]
produce offspring was the occasion for this ceremony. The diagnosis was *koftun*—emasculation of the husband by a woman who had borne him a child out of wedlock. The *machi* felt I knew who practiced *koftun* against me. We were told to sip from two bottles of medicine every morning and evening for the next month. After the stated period passed, my wife became pregnant. It should not be difficult to imagine the impact on the local people of this "international" power of the *machi*.

75 time, during which the *machi* is in some danger from the *kalku*.
Upon agreeing to conduct a *kalkutun*, the *machi* requests the
75 victim's family to bring saliva, eyebrows, finger- and toenail
787 parings, and head hairs which have been saved by them for this
purpose. The *machi* is entrusted with these items for a year.
After the year has passed, these objects begin to "speak" to her
of the cause of death. The *machi* calls the victim's family
around her to listen to these objects. Those present are able to
understand only a small part of what the objects are saying. In
the course of her performance, the *machi* reveals, through the
objects, the *kalku* who is responsible for the victim's death, and
[683] also suggests the proper manner of killing the *kalku*. This is as
far as the *machi* goes, unless she is one of the rare ones willing to
undertake the supernatural murder of the witch. In any case, the
family returns home armed only with the *kalku*'s general (and
stereotyped) description and notice of her general whereabouts,
for the *machi* does not furnish the *kalku*'s name or that of the
kalku's client.

It is up to the family to take further action against the witch
754 or her client if they choose. Seizure and burning was the
683 traditional manner in which *kalku* were disposed of in the past,
but the Chilean police force has put an end to that. The
witch-burning tales told by informants do not relate their own
experiences, usually, but those of their fathers and grandfathers.
When direct action is taken against a witch today, the family of
the victim does so by hiring the services of another *kalku* to
practice counter magic. However, this action has drawbacks.
Kalku are rather prone to loyalty to one another, for one thing,
and it might be difficult to find a professional witch who admits
to being a powerful *kalku*. Should a *kalku* be approached and
then refuse to lend assistance, the would-be client considers
himself in some danger. *Kalku* are available for doing harm to
ordinary people, but usually balk at combatting one of the
sisterhood.

751 *Machi* performances themselves are dangerous to participants
and spectators, since anyone connected with the manipulation
of spirits is considered exposed to supernatural danger. There
are somewhat effective safeguards that people may employ,
which at least limit or reduce supernatural danger. Recently,

some Mapuche have taken to nailing small crosses over their 751 doors to this end. A traditional means of warding off danger is the wearing of amulets, a practice which nowadays is mostly confined to women who have small silver figurines appended to their *trapelakucha* or other silver ornaments worn on their bosom.

Machi are regarded as powerful, awesome persons in any 756 community or region. Where they are lacking, people complain 182 that their plight in the face of illness is very grave and they 554 frequently manifest a good deal of insecurity during hard times—when food is in short supply or when there have been several unexplained deaths on the reservation. They complain that they have no one to turn to; that there are obviously many *wekufe* lurking about and no *machi* to deal with them. Under these circumstances, it is not unusual for an ailing person, in the company of a relative or two, to travel a considerable distance to have a *machitun* performed, or to send someone to bring back a *machi* to the reservation, if one is willing to make the journey. This feeling of insecurity was particularly impressed upon me in a snow-bound reservation in the Andes, during a period of near famine and general anxiety. Roads were in deep snow and almost impassible. No *machi* would make the trip from the nearest reservation which, in this remote area, was two or three days' journey by foot, and which was in dire straits itself. The [769] people did not have the wherewithal to hold a *ñillatun* and, at [796] any rate, some felt that a *ñillatun* held out of season would not be effective.

By Mapuche standards, *machi* are often well-to-do. Their 756 wealth is measured in moveable goods for the most part, goods 556 received in payment for services rendered. This usually means that they live in well-constructed houses and that they have many animals in their corrals. There seems to be no correlation between a *machi*'s wealth, however, and the land she or her husband owns (or has use-rights in), as is expectable, given the Mapuche reservation system and patrilineal inheritance pattern, and the fact that *machi* seem to marry outside the matrilateral pattern. But shamans usually have a well-stocked larder, which is common knowledge. Partly in jest, an ample matronly woman might be pointed out as a *machi*, because of the image of

756 prosperity which exists in Mapucheland with respect to persons
[556] of this profession.

All of the above discussion points to the fact that *machi* are
active and powerful persons in the moral community, important
human agents who deal with the supernatural through their
pillan for the good of individuals and the community at large.
[462 The vast majority of *machi* are females, who concern themselves
with female ancestors. In this thoroughly patrilineal and patripotestal
769] society, the *machi's* attention to female ancestors in the
struggle between good and evil forces suggests a certain compensation
for the overwhelming attention given to males in both
the mundane and the spiritual segments of the Mapuche
world.

121 *Femininity and Shamanism.* What are some of the social
correlates of the sexual identification or symbolism of shaman-
756 ism? Are there, as seems to be implied by certain anthropolo-
462 gists, indications of discontinuity in this symbolism (e.g. Cooper,
[114] Titiev)? All *machi* are not women, but I suspect that within the
recorded history of the Mapuche there has never been a *machi*
who was considered fully masculine. A consideration of why
almost all contemporary *machi* are women seems to beg an
historical answer, since the present condition is usually described
in relative terms in which it is said that some significant shift
from male-associated to female-associated shamanism has taken
place. I will consider aspects of this historical problem solely
with regard to the interpretation of the facts as reported in the
literature. I do not think the supposed shift is a real issue. My
interest is merely to clear the air for an interpretation of the
latent function of female-associated shamanism in a thoroughgoing
patrilineal, patripotestal society whose moral force derives
from the proper propitiation of an agnatic core of ancestors.

114 The sources dealing with Mapuche shamanism have been
178 summarized by Metraux (1942), and Cooper (1946) incorporated
this summary into his own ethnographic survey of Mapuche
462 sources. In neither of these treatments, nor in Titiev's (1951), is
756 there any information which indicates either the cause or the
magnitude or, in precise terms, the period of the supposed shift
from male to female shamanism, although this shift is considered.
Cooper has this to say:

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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> *In earlier times, the male shamans were very commonly trans-* 178
> *vestites, dressing as women and practicing sodomy. By the* 462
> *second half of the 18th century, the machis were ordinarily* 956
> *women. In more recent times, the profession has been followed* [838]
> *almost exclusively by women* (1946: 750). [839]

There is an odd turn of logic here, or a hidden assumption. Simply because male shamans were transvestites does not mean that there were no female shamans, although that seems to be the implication, or that they were outnumbered by men. Nevertheless, judging from the rest of his remarks, this appears to have been Cooper's conclusion—a conclusion rectifiable only by a revision of the sources he himself must have utilized, for these do not bear him out (e.g. *Actas del Cabildo de Santiago*, and the sixteenth-, seventeenth-, and eighteenth-century sources cited in the bibliography).

The shift from a male-dominated profession, at some vague period prior to the middle of the eighteenth century, to the contemporary dominance by females is actually unsubstantiated. Titiev points out that he has arrived at the same conclusion independently of Cooper, and writes:

> Many years ago the office was generally *held by men, and it is* [838]
> practically certain that they were abnormal, at least with respect
> to sexual conduct. Some of them may have been true her- [839]
> maphrodites, the rest . . . transvestites, and widespread indul-
> gence in sodomy and pederasty was common (1951:117).

Titiev also believes that there were more males than females practicing shamanism at some time in the past. It is also implied that there were a great number of male machi, if the words "widespread indulgence in sodomy," etc. were not used inadvertently or otherwise. This judgment is not in agreement with the source material on which, if it purports to be an historical statement at all, it must certainly have been based. Reuel Smith, specially referring to male shamans, states that machi were expensive practitioners because their numbers were few (1914 [Spanish translation of 1855 English edition]: 142). Citing Emile Housse (1939:113), Titiev implies that prior to the latter nineteenth century there were no female shamans, after which time there followed "a period when the post of

114 machi might be filled by a man or a woman" (1951:117). There
178 are a number of sources on the Mapuche, a few of which appear
462 in Titiev's bibliography, which could be cited to throw doubt on
756 this statement. However, going far back, Ovalle (1646) tells us that there were female *machi* in the seventeenth century, and the *Actas del Cabildo de Santiago* attest to their existence in the sixteenth century, as well. The greatest problem involved in judgments of this sort made by Cooper and Titiev seems to be related to an impatience with the historical record.

According to the best documented sources dealing with the
17 events of relatively recent history, such as the works of Moesbach
756 and Félix José de Augusta, we know that there were many
462 female *machi* practicing around the end of the last century, and
[955] that the methods of supernatural curing were pretty much as they are today. Female *machi* are not distinguished from males except for the latter's role in forecasting the outcome of military activities. It is possible that when peace was established the male *machi* lost stature among their followers (although this seems undiscoverable from the written records) either because they were felt to have lost power or because there was no longer a need for their costly services. Whether or not this was the case seems undiscoverable from the sources, or from the learned discourses presumably based on the sources, and to build anything on this kind of guess is methodologically unsound. We are left, however, with a consideration of power and its inheritance, which takes us to a consideration of the *machi*'s position with respect to patrilineal descent groups and the system of matrilateral marriage—regardless of the sex of the shaman.

756 Shamanistic power is not inherited from one's father or mother or from other close relatives. It is not inherited at all, in the sense of being transmitted to someone because of his position in some kind of descent group, however conceived. A male shaman might instruct his son to become adept in shamanistic theatrics (although I cannot give eye-witness proof of this information), but supernatural power is never passed along from one living person to another. It is also doubtful if a male shaman has familiar spirits, which is perfectly consistent with the morality structure of a patrilineal system. Female shamans do have familiar spirits from whom they receive power;

12: Faron E-4,5 (1952-1954) 1964
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or, phrased differently, because certain females have special 756
qualities which are interpreted to demonstrate their potential power, they acquire the assistance of and control over familiar spirits. This constitutes no female line, although in nearly all 756
cases they are kinswomen (and truly familiar) collaterally 613
related to the shaman. Regardless of how direct the spiritual succession between a machi and her familiars, however, these spirits are not ancestral to the machi's lineage. Even if power were transmitted from, say, grandmother to mother to daughter, these women would not be of the same lineage. Machi simply do not manipulate the spirits ancestral to their own lineage or, given the marriage system, to that of their husband. This is of considerable importance from the standpoint of Mapuche morality.

Furthermore, all machi, male and female, seem to marry 756
outside the context of the matrilateral system. This serves to 591
remove them from any possible contact with spirits ancestral to 58
the groups with whom they reside. Male machi tend to live uxorilocally if they marry at all, and if not married seem to stray from their natal reservation. Females tend to marry late in life and to reside under atypical conditions. There are, for example, no stories about a young man courting a machi and bringing her to live patrilocally, although there are some truly weird stories about men who have inadvertently married machi. Rather, it seems that machi take the initiative in arranging marriage for themselves, justifying their choice of subservient males, selecting one who is not a member of a traditional wife-receiving group (although there is no indication that this is purposeful on the machi's part), in a ceremony which does not involve the custom of brideprice and the sets of rights and obligations surrounding the traditional linkage of two patrilineal descent groups.

With regard to patterns of inheritance, marriage, and resi- 756
dence, then, machi seem to operate outside the traditional 554
structure of Mapuche social relationships. Being women, machi 562
are never part of the core group of any reservation on which they 182
reside. And since all married women are outsiders in this sense, it is interesting that there are so many female-associated traits adhering to male shamans. There is clearly an association between femininity and occult power, a connection between

756 554 562 182 shamanism and the distaff side of the universe. Even if not heterosexual, even if engaging in transvestism only during performances, the male machi is "ugly" and "unmasculine" in Mapuche eyes. He is blind, crippled, or distinguished by his timid and unnatural demeanor from the Mapuche male. I suggest that this symbolic association has characterized Mapuche thinking since time immemorial and that, in this important respect, there has been no shift from male to female dominance.

756 769 562 182 613 The manipulation of ancestral spirits of the localized lineage is unthinkable among the Mapuche. Entering the body of a machi, a spirit is placed in danger of capture by kalku and, therefore, almost contaminated at the outset. Since the machi's familiars are not ancestral to the group, her supernatural machinations do not pose a threat to the persons among whom she practices. As outsiders without linkage to ancestral spirits, female shamans are precisely those persons in whose hands supernatural power is safest.

756 613 182 There is, I feel, a significant negative correlation between shamanism on the one hand and the system of patrilineages and that of matrilateral marriage on the other. The shaman stands out from the spiritual conclave of lineage ancestors. She stands outside the structure of kinship and marriage, in any concrete set of relationships, and she is unimportant with respect to the governing principles of patrilineal descent and patripotestality in both the worldly and otherworldly spheres of Mapuche life.

Kalku: Marshalling the Forces of Evil

114 754 Published information about sorcery among the Mapuche is rich, in the sense of abundance, and poor in terms of reportorial quality, consistency, and verifiability. Some of the recorded myths have disappeared too soon to be of the twentieth-century vintage they are labeled. The imperfections and incompleteness is partly attributable to a reluctance on the part of the Mapuche to be specific, a reluctance to point an accusing finger at a witch at close range. There is also some confusion, of considerable significance, in distinguishing a kalku from a machi. Speaking in terms of contemporary Mapuche notions, this confusion sometimes results when feelings about the forces

12: Faron E-4,5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

of evil run high. One result has been an evident lack of clarity about this distinction in past and recent literature. One thing is certain, however, past and present, sorcery is rife in Mapucheland, and it is of great daily concern to the people. 114 754

Since all information about witchcraft is secondhand, that is, since it is about witches rather than from witches, and since concern with witchcraft is of such importance, it is not surprising that upon sorting out the statements of informants almost every house on almost every reservation seems to contain its *kalku*. Mapuche give ample evidence that there are many more *kalku* than *machi*.

755 Anyone may practice witchcraft, or attempt to, and under certain circumstances is to be feared. But it is generally acknowledged that some *kalku* are more powerful than others. These are the *kalku* of reputation, the professionals who have a clientele, with whom people conspire for purposes of evil, occasionally of great evil. Lesser matters such as causing harm to a neighbor's crops or animals may be undertaken by ordinary Mapuche, although not always with success. When the venture is great and when success must be guaranteed, resort is made to professional *kalku*. These almost defy identification by the outsider, since exact knowledge of powerful witches is an admission of complicity on the part of the informant. Expressions, such as "they say" punctuate accounts about witchcraft. It is generally agreed, however, that powerful *kalku* are women and that among these are some *machi* who have been defeated by the forces of evil, or who have not been initiated into the profession as full-fledged shamans. These latter are easy to identify, because they do not have the traditional *machi's* pole outside their house. [756

Kalku may inherit their power from ancestors who are *kalku*, but recruits also come in large number from young girls who are unrelated, or only distantly related, to the witch who inducts them into her circle. Ideally, *kalku* take these recruits to their *renü*, or witches' cave, there they instruct them through example in the practice of sorcery, and hold them to secrecy on pain of death. Actually, instruction is piecemeal, informal, takes place on the reservation, and involves a good deal of improvisation on the part of the aspiring witch. As with a *machi*, the feeling of

754 power and the confirmation of success condition the activities of a *kalku*.

Most of those persons thought to be *kalku* are described as old women, or middle-aged women. I am unclear as to what is supposed to happen to the young girls pressed into service, unless it takes many years for them to develop their powers or, at least, develop them sufficiently to practice homicidal sorcery. I know of no young sorceress having a clientele. This was never explained to my satisfaction, except for the indication that a witch must mature before she can deal successfully with the forces of evil. The younger women occasionally whispered about in connection with sorcery were never described as powerful, professional *kalku*. Rather than dealing in death, they dealt in love potions to secure mates for designing men and women, in undermining the favor of certain co-wives (in the compound or *lofche*), and in other sorts of petty and malicious acts far short of serious illness and death. These young women seem never to have charged for their services.

754 [illegible] Old women are especially suspect (although infrequently among themselves). They are thought to be envious of the young, and there is some evidence that they are. They have had long experience with magic and are felt to harbor general hostility toward people around them. Old men are not so judged, nor are women with pleasant dispositions. The women with the most pleasing dispositions are usually those living in the most favorable circumstances, those with husbands or children to care for them, those able to invite guests to their homes, and to play a respectable, matronly role in community activities. The old woman who lives alone, who nags her son or brother to support her, who complains volubly if they do not, who mutters to herself while going about the countryside for no apparently good reason, who might well have been near the scene of some misfortune—an old woman of this sort is generally suspected of being adept in the black art. This is even more widely the opinion if she is an in-married crone who has survived her husband and many of her children. But no one is entirely free from suspicion, at least not on all occasions.

754 [illegible] According to Mapuche definition, a professional *kalku* is any person who controls one or more evil spirits, most generally a

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woman who engages in evil practices for a clientele. While 754
many persons are said to know magic incantations and may 776
summon the forces of evil in their own behalf, they are felt to have but little if any power, and are not deemed professionals in the absence of a clientele. Principal among the supernatural beings controlled by a *kalku* are her own ancestral spirits, those of other *kalku*, as well as spirits which she has captured. As with *machi*, there is no female line involved, but *kalku* do manipulate spirits ancestral to their own natal lineage. In contrast to *machi*, therefore, *kalku* are especially dangerous to their own closest relatives and their ancestors, ancestors of linked lineages in the traditional matrilateral marriage system. A powerful *kalku* may control many spirits captured by her, the unprotected spirits of the dead whom she converts into *wekufe* and who assume various malevolent forms, such as *witranalwe*, *anchimallen*, *piwichen*, *chonchon*, and others. *Kalku*, then, are doubly feared because they not only practice evil but recruit their spirit helpers from their own ancestral group.

Kalku are not healers, are not given credit for having any knowledge of good. They are hired to do evil.[8] They poison through the agency of their supernatural aids; they cause their familiars to capture tired, unwary spirits—ritually impure souls and spirits of the dead—which they use to their own evil ends. *Kalku*'s spirits never die, never leave earth, but are inherited in essence as familiars of descendants or converts.

The community rejoices when a *kalku* dies. I witnessed this 754
twice and heard many stories about it. Both times I saw this 761
attitude expressed were on occasions of *ñillatun*, held after the 769
death of a suspected *kalku* (but not for the express purpose of 792
celebrating her death). The death of witches was mentioned in [714]
the *ñillatun* oration by way of giving thanks to *Nenechen* and the protecting ancestors. Again and again it was hoped that the *kalku*'s spirit would be chased elsewhere to live and do evil. The special idiom in which joy was expressed involved the phrase "a dog has died." On each of these occasions, the *kalku*'s family

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[8] This poses a problem with regard to vengeancy-by-witchcraft. If revenge is itself socially sanctioned, can it of itself or can its human agents be considered evil? How is this dichotomy to be regarded with respect to function, dysfunction, sorcery?

754 (grown children in one case and husband and children in the
761 other) remained away from the *ñillatun*. They were not invited
769 and they seemed not to wish to participate. A *kalku*'s children
796 are not automatically charged with being witches, but it is never
overlooked that their mother was a witch and, if their actions
seem peculiar and threatening, they too may fall under the
shadow of suspicion.

754 Another case which came to my attention was that of a
woman accused of killing her entire family. No means of
ascertaining the actual cause of death was available to me, but
they all died within a six-month period. The surviving woman
had been suspected of dealing in witchcraft, and this catastrophe
was all the proof the community needed. They called upon the
[755] services of a *machi* to perform a *machitun* (or *machipurun*),
and at considerable expense since several *machi* and their
assistants were involved in a daylong ceremony. The *kalku* was
not evicted from the reservation, because the land was scheduled
for division into severalties and the people wanted no interference
from the Chilean police at that time. It was hoped that
the witch would sell her land, once the reservation was disbanded,
and move away. The police were informed of the
multiple murder-by-witchcraft but apparently took the matter
lightly.

578 When feelings are especially strained between persons, even
754 though they may be members of the same family, spontaneous
626 accusations of witchcraft are sometimes made in anger, especially
if either person suffers injury, sickness, or bad luck.
Usually, both the fear of sorcery and the fear of being called a
witch curtails rivalry and overt hostility. But it is not so effective
a mechanism that such fears are not felt and accusations
occasionally made, regardless of the consequences to the persons
[595] or groups involved. It appears that in polygynous households
co-wives levy these charges against one another, especially when
relationships are strained because one wife is favored over another.
[596] This sort of thing also occurs in extended-family house-
[606] holds between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law, and between
[609] brothers' wives, most usually when the women are not related
patrilineally. But the possibility of witchcraft being practiced
against one from almost any quarter within one's residential

578 626 754 kingroup is great enough so that no previous hostility need have been expressed. Not all of these charges are of equal weight, however. It is felt that people do not always mean what they say and that calling a person a witch is, in a fit of temper or while drunk, no more than a very cutting remark, one which may be shrugged off unless repeated on several occasions and taken seriously by others.

538 754 The innumerable stories about witchcraft seem exaggerated if one measures them against the actual charges of witchcraft made within earshot during a year's residence with the Mapuche. Even the assumption that many accusations have not come to the investigator's attention does not seem to reconcile the apparent disparity between witchcraft stories and actual events. The stories support the fears of the people, and the fears are obvious even apart from the stories. There seem to be two possible explanations for the disparity. Either the stories are wholly fictitious, in which case they would still be important and in a sense "real," or they are the accumulation of generations. Judging from internal evidence—such as accounts of witchburning—they are at least partly the accumulation of generations and represent the heritage of the contemporary Mapuche. To some extent this means that, while witchcraft is undeniably [182] of great importance, fears are kept within certain bounds and, as generalized fears, are not disruptive to the solidarity of any single community.

754 578 Of significance in this regard is one case in which I, as a resident in an involved household, was particularly cognizant. It concerned a falling-out between two minimal lineages, adjacent extended-family households, on a multilineage reservation. Specifically, a young man contested his father's brother's claim to farm implements and some land left as undeclared property by the deceased. Both uncle and nephew called each other a witch on every occasion they met, and referred to each other as such. They complained to the rest of the community that each was a practicing sorcerer, was killing animals, causing crops to spoil, sending *wekufe* disguised as rats to eat the grain in the cribs, and many similar things. A great breach of etiquette was [576] involved, since the nephew showed such disrespect for a lineage elder who was a very close relative. Still, few people took these

754 578 accusations seriously, saying that the old man was hot-headed and the young man wrong-headed. Even so, there had been no mention of an attempt to kill by witchcraft, an accusation which would certainly have been disruptive to the entire community. It is only with regard to the more petty annoyances that charges of witchcraft are levied against such a close relative.

754 578 622 Another instance indicates how a serious charge was tailored by the community so that the status quo could be maintained. This concerns a man and his married sister. The man claimed, in a fit of anger and fear, that his own sister had attempted to poison him. She had made a visit from her husband's reservation and had spent a few days in her brother's house. One day she left, and shortly afterward her brother became ill and vomited the food she had prepared for him. None of the other members of the household or of the entire lineage, for that matter, felt that the man's sister was responsible, and they fixed blame on her husband, who, they said, had bewitched her into administering the poison. The man swore to avenge himself on his sister's husband, but did not speak of any action against her. Rather, several of the man's relatives said that the thing to do would be to bring the woman back to live with her brother, because it was obvious that she was living with an evil man.

754 756 Given the rampant fear of sorcery, it is understandable that a *machi* who had a falling-out with someone would be especially feared, since she has power. There is no reason why she could not use *it* against someone who has wronged her, although it is generally felt that *machi*, as professionals, are too morally responsible to engage in vengeance lightly. There is always the possibility that the *machi* might think the person who has injured her is a *kalku*. Be that as it may, there is some room for confusing the forces of good and evil when a person is laboring under fear of witchcraft. But there is really little room for confusion when the *machi* and *kalku* are considered with respect to their long-term, regular, professional activities. Quite simply, *machi* are not considered professional sorcerers. Also, it is felt that *machi* are fearful of *kalku*, and that the reverse is not true. This, again, at least by implication, places the *machi* in the camp of goodness and right.

754 The *kalku* operates most effectively from her *reñu*, her haunt,

which is described as a lugubrious den, the entrance to which is 754
guarded by evil spirits in animal form. Witches foregather in 754
the *reñu*, where spirits of former *kalku* who have not entered 775
living bodies reside. These unattached spirits of former *kalku* are the familiars of living witches. The assemblage of witches, corporeal and incorporeal, makes incantations over dead dogs, frogs, snakes, and the like against their human victims. Only 754
kalku are able to enter the *reñu* with impunity. If a *machi* or anyone else stumbled upon the *reñu*, they would be captured and either put to death, so that their spirit could be converted into a familiar, or else pressed into the sisterhood as a corporeal witch and allowed to live as long as the *kalku*'s secrets were kept.

Witches are difficult to discover, but discovery is possible. [521]
Witchcraft is a favorite topic of conversation when there have been strange happenings in the community. Supernatural events are discussed avidly and mulled over by the people. Eventually, some person might be associated with these strange happenings, either because of an accusation of witchcraft made previously or because her activities seem odd to her neighbors. She is watched for continued peculiar behavior and branded a sorcerer once a sufficient number of people are convinced of her evilness. This is brought about with greater or less difficulty, depending on the level of anxiety in the community. No action need be taken 683
against her, except for ostracism. She will be shunned and will be a target for suspicion henceforth, and if the community continues to be plagued by strange and harmful events, she may be more severely dealt with. If she is in fear of her life at the hands of the community, or if counterwitchcraft is being practiced against her, she may quit the reservation. There is a good deal of evidence about such people having been evicted from their husband's reservation. Old crones who grub a living in one or another of the frontier towns are often said to have been evicted because of practicing witchcraft on the reservation. This is both a Chilean and a Mapuche opinion. Many men who try to gain admission to a new reservation community, because they have no claim to adequate land on their natal reservation, also fall under this shadow of suspicion. As far as men are [591]
concerned, many who live nomadically (even for obvious eco-

683 nomic reasons) are accused of having been chased from their
591 natal communities for practicing witchcraft. People speak of them in whispers as "once having been a witch," the implication being that no action will be taken against them as long as they
754 do not renew their evil activities. Since these men tend to be am-
156 bitious, underlying their search for more land, and attempt to
578 make the most of uxorilocal residence—an unviable condition in most cases—they usually arouse the hostility of some members
591 of their adoptive community. Among males, these in-married men are most suspect of themselves engaging in witchcraft, or in hiring the services of a sorcerer, to enhance their own status.

The Sisterhoods

754 Something remains to be said about groups of shamans and
756 sorcerers qua groups. Cooper (1946:750), again following Métraux, wrote, "there were no shaman societies," and by his silence on the matter seems to imply there were no societies of witches. He did mention, though, that aspiring *machi* were secretly instructed by practicing shamans and were initiated "into the profession" according to solemn ritual, which included animal sacrifice, feasting, and a symbolic expression of unity, at least between neophyte and teacher.

Actually both shamans and witches form what might be called, legitimately, corporate groups. That of the shamans is a
[772] life and blood reality, with its supernatural component. That of the witches is real in the sense of its existence in people's thoughts and its effect of social action, and it seems to complement that of the shamans in the Mapuche dualistic theory of good and evil forces. There are any number of hints of this structure in the historic and more recent literature, and the dualism at least is noted by Titiev (1951:114).

754 *Kalku* are believed to gather in *reñu*, where they conduct their evil machinations in subterranean secrecy. They fly by night to their rendezvous, frequently as *chonchon*, when the occasion demands. Titiev, although not mentioning the corporate nature of the witching profession, refers to these meetings as "witches' Sabbaths," which I think is a fair figure of speech, even though
[184] it might imply regularity which does not exist. The composition of witches' groups is somewhat differently conceptualized in

different regions, variation even occurring from one reservation 754
to the next with regard to minor details. It is often said that all [184]
witches of a region foregather but, again, that "all *kalku* assemble in their *reñu*." Sometimes, therefore, only one large *reñu* is conceived and all witches believed to belong to a nondifferentiated group. Other times, many *reñu* are said to exist, and witches are grouped into vague regional memberships.

Without attempting to explain these variations in detail, it might be said that witches are given corporate reality in the folklore which has developed around them. *Kalku* derive strength through their association. Since they "never die," they comprise an entity which has infinite social continuity. They are feared as a group in league with the totality of supernatural forces of evil, for which they recruit new members. They are the living expression, the embodiment of this evil force in the universe. Their rendezvous is secret and its accidental or purposeful discovery means either death to the unfortunate person at the hands of the body of *kalku*, or his incorporation into the group. Evil is not only cumulative but collective.

While *kalku* may be paid to work magic against other professional witches, this occurs only in exceptional cases, and is rationalized by saying that the witches so involved belong to different associations defined in the vague regional terms alluded to above—that is, to different groups between which a certain amount of antagonism or conflict of interest is attributed. This might account for the muddled opinion about whether witches should be considered a single evil entity or as an internally differentiated group. In any case, the usual opposition is between *machi* and *kalku*, between good and evil, and from this point of view individuality is played down and group membership emphasized.

As distinguished from *kalku*, shamans form actual groups of 756
living people, associated with the forces of good through their
pillan. They congregate for the purpose of dedicating or rededi- [778]
cating the sacred symbol (the *rewe*) of their profession. One of their membership validates ceremonially before her peers her full-fledged status—and the same core group of *machi* assembles regularly on such occasions. They also assemble to initiate a novice into the sisterhood, and to test her powers in group

756 performance. Sometimes they assemble to cure one of their members, sometimes to cure an important and wealthy person. [755] Collectively, these reunions of *machi* are most often called *machipurun* (whence the Spanish, *baile de machi*) or *pillantun*. Since "marrying the cinnamon tree" is part of these ceremonies, they may also be called *ñekurewen*, and since curing powers are always demonstrated, they are sometimes loosely referred to (but not by shamans) as *machitun*.

The same core group of *machi* assembles at these *machipurun* on successive occasions over many years, usually from initiation to death. The group, therefore, has regional identity, although, as with the *ñillatun* congregation, there is some vagueness in the definition of the periphery, when the region is viewed empirically as an average expression of actual participation. In an ideal sense, the regions may be conceived of as circular and overlapping. Empirically, regional peripheries are fuzzy, shifting zones, depending on where the *machipurun* is held from one time to the next. In this sense, while there is at any given time or occasion a core of *machi* (designated as such by the membership) who reassemble through the years, there also tends to be a web of relationships established over a wide area. Shamans from Toltén, for example, do not meet with those from Temuco, many kilometers distant, but shamans living as far apart as this know each other by reputation, largely because of the series of links established between them through overlapping membership.

Like *kalku*, shamans derive strength from their association with other shamans. Certainly, their *machipurun* give them a corporateness in terms of action and spatial and temporal unity. New members are continually recruited in group ceremonies at which they validate their claim to membership in performances before the living and the dead.

Sorcery and Social Solidarity

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182 In a society in which sorcery is a constant danger and, at least in time of stress, deep concern is manifested in necromancy and freewheeling malevolent forces, one might expect to discover weaknesses in the structure of solidarity exposed where these practices and sentiments are most apparent. Characteristically, between what individuals and groups are feelings of hostility

strong enough to result in mutual fears and accusations of 121
sorcery, and how are these feelings channeled? And what are the 182
"functional" and "dysfunctional" aspects of sorcery? In attempt- 754
ing to discover this, it seems best to examine Mapuche society in terms of fundamental segments such as the lineage, the residential kingroup, the reservation, and the ritual congregation. Individuals and families engage in witchcraft within the context of these larger groupings.

It can be said at the outset that Mapuche suspect Chileans of 754
being sorcerers. In terms of total societies, the unity of this 829
sentiment among reservation Mapuche is noticeable. More 648
acculturated Mapuche do not necessarily share this prevalent view, although they do to a degree which is surprising in face of their assertions that they are truly *civilizado*. Chilean society is more differentiated in its feelings about Mapuche sorcerers. The peasant element almost alone of all socioeconomic categories manifests any real fear of Mapuche sorcerers, although a belief in their prowess is more general. Mapuche and Chilean supernatural beliefs may be said to overlap in the rural areas, where the concepts *wekufe* and *duende* are mutually intelligible and *kalku* and *bruja* are roughly of the same ilk. *Machi* and *curandera* have much in common, although the latter is considered to be much less endowed with supernatural power than the Mapuche shaman. As a rule, Mapuche tend to regard their Chilean neighbors and tradesmen as potential witches, while rural Chileans are likely to regard as witches only those Mapuche with a reputation of professional sorcerer, rather than all their neighbors indiscriminately.

In the foregoing sections sorcery was discussed in terms of the 754
kinds of evil inflicted on victims and the manner in which people were victimized. In general, sorcery results in death or misfortune. More specifically, surreptitious "murder" (any unexplained death), uncommon illness (contracted under unusual circumstances or unduly prolonged), strange mishaps and injuries, loss of valued objects, bad luck with crops and animals (while neighbors are prosperous) are major headings under which supernaturally induced misfortune is categorized. Not all
evil is of the same order. In the next few pages, I will attempt to [128]
outline or sort out various kinds of calamities resulting from

754 [128] sorcery, as these apply to different social groupings in Mapuche society.

On inquiring into the prevalance of witchcraft, I was some- [178] [753] times told that people nowadays regard the usual illnesses as a result of natural causes, but in all cases this statement was refuted by the unguarded statements and actions of the very informants who provided this sophisticated judgment. Such a reversal itself speaks for the prevalence of a concern with sorcery. If in fact the fear of sorcery has diminished, its incidence in the past must have been astounding. I can say that roughly 20 percent of the population (at least 50 percent of the adults) on each of the five reservations I studied in detail had at one time or another used sorcery to gain advantage over others. On two other reservations, one that had been divided recently into severalty holdings, and another which was undergoing division, almost 75 percent of the adult population had been accused openly, or themselves had levied charges, of sorcery. Most of the charges were made by women against other women, and on each reservation there was at least one old crone whom nearly everybody suspected of being a witch. The intensity of feeling apparently rose and fell according to whether there [756] seemed to be renewed cause for suspicion. Nearly every adult female above the age of forty had visited a *machi* at least once in her life, some women fifteen or twenty times, although I am not certain if all such visits were for the purpose of getting supernatural cures against sorcery. I suspect that sometimes no more than medicinal remedies were sought. While it is very difficult to obtain information about the number of people who have engaged the services of a *kalku* or have themselves practiced witchcraft, it is a relatively simple matter to tabulate the number of times each person engaged the services of a *machi* for cure or protection. Although this is no more than indirect evidence of the prevalence of witchcraft, it indicates that nearly every person who reaches maturity has some experience with the supernatural which requires shamanistic assistance.

754 676 571 Mapuche achieve some measure of integration by picturing themselves prey to out-group sorcerers, whether the point of reference be the lineage, the residential kingroup, the reserva-

12: Faron E-4,5 (1952-1954) 1964
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tion, the ritual congregation, or total Mapuche society. But this 754
feeling is associated mainly with murder-by-witchcraft. Mali- 578
ciousness short of murder is the thing which continually engages 571
the attention of any person or group. The practice of sorcery or the fear of it tends to correlate with interpersonal or intergroup tensions, which means that relatives, neighbors, and local Chileans are suspected of witchcraft. The more intimate the bond of kinship or friendship, the more unlikely that fears of homicidal sorcery will exist. Thus, the most devastating supernatural influences emanate from without the group, however the group be defined. With regard to the merely malicious as distinguished from the lethal aspects of sorcery, and even though the professional sorcerer be an outsider, the ill-wisher is usually a member of the community. The community may be the residential kingroup, the reservation, or the ritual congregation.

Wealthy men and poor, old, widowed women tend to 754
shoulder the brunt of suspicion and accusation of being witches. 736
However, a wealthy man (ülmen) is seldom openly charged. His 735
wife might be accused of practicing sorcery for her husband's 554
benefit, or the man might be said to have *witranalwe* in his 556
service, not to do harm but to guard his possessions against his neighbors—an affront to the community. Poor, aged widows are favorite targets for charges of sorcery and are felt to be witches themselves, whereas it is believed that most other coresidents merely hire the services of a *kalku*, having little or no power themselves. Unless such a woman is felt to be especially dangerous and troublesome, she will not be evicted. It is usually hoped that she will soon die and that her spirit will go elsewhere, a matter on which I have already touched.

The wealthy and the extremely poor, especially widows who have survived their children and who, of course, are only affinally related to core members of the lineage, are the ones who are peripheral to the community. Wealthy men tend to have more land and animals; widows, perhaps more land than
they are felt to need. They exemplify evil, but rather than being [683]
evicted or harmed, they are maligned, shunned, ridiculed. Fear [648]
of Chilean police power is partly responsible for this, I feel, but it is not the only reason why suspected members of the community are not dealt with more harshly.

000 community are not dealt with more harshly. A witch is a terrible
754 person whom no one undertakes to harm without the backing of
683 the entire community.

621 Within one's own patrilineage the fear of sorcery being practiced
754 for the purpose of murder, illness, or injury is negligible,
613 although one may expect certain animosities to result in the
578 practice of sorcery for the purpose of causing crop damage, loss
of animals and other valued objects, and so forth. Actually, I
know of no case in which murder-by-witchcraft was charged
between members of the same lineage. And one's enemy within
the lineage does not practice sorcery himself, as a rule, but
engages the services of a *kalku* to inflict the harm. In these cases
the sorcerer is usually a person living on a "distant reservation,"
as the explanation goes, and is difficult or impossible to discover;
and one's enemy, if he does not reveal himself, cannot be
identified easily. Since one may never be certain of his enemy in
such cases, fears tend to subside as one's fortune improves.

754 The minimum solidarity necessary for the localized lineage to
613 operate in group activities would be greatly endangered should
683 sorcery leading to murder or serious illness be practiced by one
member against another. If such a suspicion was apparently
confirmed, there would almost certainly be a concerted effort to
expel the evildoer. If the intended victim were to murder the
alleged sorcerer, the act would be considered as an execution
(previously discussed) and sanctioned by the responsible lineage
members. But these rules emerge from stories of such happenings
in the past, not, to my knowledge, from events in contemporary
Mapuche society. In most instances, people would be
[692] satisfied with evicting the evildoer; or, in some cases, with an
[648] appeal made to the *Juez de Indios* or a criminal court to resolve
the matter within the framework of Chilean law.

754 Accusations of witchcraft do arise within the lineage, but
613 between members of its branches. The members of sublineages—father,
578 sons, and grandsons—are as a rule the most tightly
integrated group above the level of elementary family organization.
Indeed, these persons might even comprise a *lofche* or an
[423] extended-family group. The greatest danger to sublineage solidarity
[428] results from land shortage, which affects not so much
[581] inheritance (which tends to be equal among a man's sons) as it

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does the ability of the several sons to marry (thereby achieving fully adult status in the community) and support their families on the land which is part of their birthright. The difficulties which are apt to arise from situations of this sort are usually resolved by some of the males emigrating for the good of the rest. The ones who leave are most often those who are dissatisfied with reservation life; so the decision is not altogether altruistic (since parents exert pressure on their sons not to leave) and may even serve as a pretext, in limited cases, for withdrawing from humdrum reservation routine. Nevertheless, that it happens with such frequency speaks for sublineage solidarity rather than for dissension. In this setting, mutual accusations of witchcraft between males of the sublineage rarely if ever occur. Between lineage segments, however, charges of sorcery arise over land disputes, the inheritance of certain economic goods, and other matters of concern to the agnatic core. Feelings of hostility are occasionally intense, but, to my knowledge, sorcery is always geared merely to give one party advantage over the other in whatever claims gave rise to the dispute. Attempted murder is never charged.

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There is a noticeable difference when it comes to charges and countercharges of sorcery at *the level of the residential kingroup*, a structure which would be expected to be less integrated than the localized core of agnates. The most striking thing is that women bear the brunt of suspicion of engaging in sorcery, an attitude also apparent in the themes and *dramatis personae* of folk tales concerning witchcraft. Mutual accusations are made mostly among women, to the near exclusion of men. For the most part, there are hostilities and jealousies between in-married women and females of the lineage, but the greatest fears and charges involve the in-married women themselves. They are the weakest links in the structure of group solidarity.

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But too frequent charges of sorcery, even among these females, would put too much strain on the minimal harmonious relationships necessary for the residential kingroup to be an effective entity in certain kinds of economic cooperation, political activity, and religious ceremonial. The potentially disruptive forces are minimized somewhat by the system of matrilateral marriage, whereby some of the women are lineage sisters who

[illegible]: Faron E-4,5 (1952-1954) 1964
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754 are obliged to recognize a certain measure of common senti-
598 ment involved in traditional kinship etiquette. Furthermore,
women standing in such relationship are generally married to
618 members of the same sublineage, among whom we have already
613 noted a high degree of solidarity and an absence of fear from
182 supernatural harm by their closest kinsmen. Long common
residence among in-married women is quite important in
582 establishing bonds of friendship which inspire trust. In this
regard, it seems significant that the younger generation of wives
is suspicious of the older women, whereas among the older
women themselves the relationships are generally rather
amicable.

754 Serious charges brought against his wife involves a man in
entanglements over sorcery. Men tend to avoid such embroil-
598 ments by deemphasizing the importance of the accusations
593 made by members of the residential kingroup, and, to the ex-
[618] tent that they involve their wives and kinswomen, explain the
animosities and fears in psychological terms of maladjustment,
in a manner which is rather sophisticated in itself or, perhaps,
detracts from the supposed sophistication of such explanations.
A man might become incensed at his wife for stirring up trou-
ble among his kinsmen over unfounded fears. Consequently,
with an eye to maintaining domestic harmony, wives tend not
to bother their husbands with their fears of sorcery and the
accusations that others have made, since the men almost
inevitably show annoyance or anger. Instead, one finds that
[626] there are whispering campaigns among the women against those
who are suspected of being witches or of engaging their services.
Husbands are only partly attuned to the situation since the
charges are rarely made openly and tend not to come to the
593 public eye, since murder is not involved.

754 Even though there are more accusations of sorcery among
in-married women, there is rarely fear of murder or serious
595 illness. Co-wives might work love magic against one another to
[752] gain preference with their husband, or one might seek to cause
[842] another to become sterile. This is no great problem in Mapuche
land, however, because of the marked decline in polygynous
[178] households. In all cases, however, polygynous or otherwise, it is
usually a matter of one woman gaining advantage over another.

However, there is a strong tendency on the part of women to 754
accuse each other of actually being witches themselves, rather 578
than merely hiring the services of a *kalku*. It is, of course, 593
difficult to determine how seriously all such accusations are
taken, since many charges of witchcraft are made in the heat of
the moment and designed to be as hurtful as possible. They [521]
seem to be doubted and minimized by the men. Sometimes it is
said that sorcery is a woman's delight, a principal item of gossip,
and little more. Husbands would rather not become involved in
such matters. If they do, they first remonstrate with their own
wives, preferring to dissuade them of their notions and fears,
while discussing the matter in a rather rational manner (given
their basic assumption) with other men. This is always a male
solution. Women tend to engage the services of a machi to [756]
obtain protection from sorcery, or the services of a *kalku* to
perform counter black magic against the alleged (and sometimes
self-confessed) evildoer.

On a multilineage reservation I expected to find a higher 754
incidence of sorcery practiced between unrelated lineages than 613
within them. As far as I could discover, this is not the case. I 621
believe this is a fair expression of reservation-community solidarity, a result of long-term residence and cooperative ventures in which common interests have been upheld—and that it is characteristic of reservations having a steadily active prime chief. These unrelated lineages are given kinship status through the extension of generational kin terms and through the voluntary imposition of reservation exogamy. These features speak for community integration with respect to the amalgamation of distinct lineage groups, the emphasis on community membership having the effect of reducing social discord. Members of unrelated constituent lineages, nevertheless, are more often accused of being witches themselves than is the case within one's own kingroup. Sometimes suspicions of murder-by-witchcraft arise but, as far as I could learn (on two of the five reservations where specific charges had been made) these were resolved, at least to the extent that they did not lead to feud or attempted surreptitious murder in reprisal. In short, they did not have serious consequences.

On the interreservational level, fear of witchcraft seems to 000

754 628 578 On the interreservational level, fear of witchcraft seems to involve, more often than not, groups to which one is related through marriage, or adjacent groups whether so related or not. However this may be, it is clear that social relationships have to exist before there is a fear of witchcraft which permeates the community or a segment of it. I can think of no exception to this on the level of group relationships. Hostile encounters with strangers—an individual matter—also give rise to fears that sorcery will be practiced against one. These fears, however, are usually short-lived if nothing seems to come from the encounter.

754 621 578 Groups affiliated through a single marriage or through marriages contracted several generations ago and then not subsequently renewed are those more often involved in mutual accusations of murder-by-witchcraft than any other segments of Mapuche society, and each group is felt to have its own *kalku*. These are the most serious of all charges involving sorcery. Actually, though, the more petty, nonhomicidal ones which occur between in-married women are generally more troublesome, since they are disruptive of ingroup relationships, involving as they do consanguines. Interreservational embroilments, where two unrelated lineages are involved, threaten community existence, since they might lead to a petition for the dissolution of the reservation as a corporate landholding entity. While placing the blame for homicidal sorcery outside the reservation surely serves to lessen the possibility of internal discord on these grounds, internal bickerings which involve minor accusations of sorcery are disruptive to the community. One cannot conclude, then, that sorcery (taken as an undifferentiable whole) is either disruptive or integrative, with respect to the structure of local groups. The kind of sorcery must always be considered.

754 731 769 782 [illegible] General calamity, such as epidemic, illness, or crop failure, is not viewed as resulting from the practice of sorcery for specific ends. Rather it is attributed to the forces of evil and a failure on the part of the community to make proper supplication of their ancestors and the pantheon of gods. During times of general strife, people rally to *ngillatun* rites, if this is feasible, or prepare for *ngillatun* when the propitious moment arrives. A very capable *machi* of the Temuco region complained to me that during a period of general trouble the people came to her only for individual cures and held expensive *ngillatun* to meet the general

12: Faron E-4,5 (1952-1954) 1964
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difficulty. In time of general hardship, therefore, the public pressure against witches is actually eased; since everyone shows the same signs of deprivation and misfortune, no one is suspected of gaining advantage over another. Attention is directed to gods and public worship.

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Under ordinary circumstances, in reasonably good times, public ritual does not suffice to allay fears about the forces of evil. The *machi* and the *kalku* then appear as the most active figures in the context of good and evil. People have traditional safeguards outside the sphere of professional activity, however, and strive to cement relationships within the area of kinship rights and obligations. Notable among these attempts are the practices of *misha*, *trafkin*, and *konchotun*, interpersonal rituals designed to formalize relationships in a context free from suspicion and fear of sorcery. *Misha*, the ritual sharing of food from a single bowl, symbolizes that the individuals so related are innocent of desiring to harm one another. By demonstrating that the food of which they partake is not poisoned, the two persons also demonstrate their trust in the members of their respective households (who have had a hand in the preparation of the food), and this indicates a trust greater than that involved solely with respect to the shared plate. When one says that he is *misha* with so-and-so or asks another person to become *misha*, he demonstrates not only friendship between himself and another individual, but a relationship of trust with an entire household or sublineage. *Trafkin*, the ritual exchange of gifts between two persons, has the same kind of implication for the individuals and their respective families. [431] The people tangentially involved speak of the *trafkin* relationship of their kinsmen with strong feelings of satisfaction and security. They comprise an unassailable block in an area of charges and countercharges of sorcery. And so with *konchotun*, an even more elaborate and formalized bond between persons, which, similarly, extends to their families. *Konchotun*, a formal and public (during *nillatun* ceremony) demonstration of special friendship, involves the sacrifice of a lamb and the ceremonial partaking of its meat—at least when the ceremony is undertaken in the fully traditional manner. [782] In any case, though, *konchotun* establishes bonds between individuals and their families which tend to be per-

754 petuated one generation after the next. The practice of witch-
602 craft between persons so related is unthinkable, and the trust
571 filters through their closest kinsmen. Trafkin and konchotun are
788 practiced between males; wenüy often involves females as well.
62[illegible] The mutual support and confidence exhibited in all cases speaks
182 both for the prevalence of fears of sorcery and the overt efforts to allay such fears. These dyadic communions usually involve just the groups which would be most suspect of practicing sorcery against one another, that is, persons who are members of unrelated lineages in common residence, or those linked by only a few or old and unsustained marriage ties, the interpersonal contract affecting the larger grouping of kin.

Concluding Remarks

754 A determination of the function of sorcery in Mapuche
182 society must consider the groups and individuals involved and
571 also whether sorcery is directed toward murder or serious illness or merely toward gaining advantage of a lesser nature over a person. When murder is involved, socially and physically distinct groups come into oppositional relationship, one which has a greater or less integrating effect on each group depending on the number and the importance of persons immediately concerned. The integrative effect of homicidal sorcery appears to involve a small segment of any lineage group, the most closely related kinsmen of the murderer (the *kalku's* client) or the victim, as the case may be. When lesser oppositional advantage is at issue, one finds that coresidents are most often involved, and that this lighter side of sorcery has a decidedly disruptive effect on the community if it is persistent and if it is taken seriously by the most responsible males of the group.

771 A most poignant function of sorcery, however, is that it helps
776 explain the operation of evil forces in the Mapuche universe. It
754 helps account for frustration and failure, for the occurrence of
182 strange and unexplainable events. These evil forces are combatable with the assistance of shamans, but their source is incarnated by professional witches. In all cases, the force of evil signifies a moral failure on the part of the Mapuche. On the positive side, however, society converts misfortune into a moral tradition and gives expression to the forces of good through ceremonial assemblages of the ritual congregation.

12: Faron E-4,5 (1952-1954) 1964
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Six: THE STRUCTURE OF SYMBOLIC VALUES IN THE RITUAL INTEGRATION OF SOCIETY

FOLLOWING Durkheim, Radcliffe-Brown wrote long ago that "it is in ancestor-worship that we can most easily discover and demonstrate the social function of a religious cult" (1952:163). Since the propitiation of ancestral spirits is central to the scheme of Mapuche morality, it could possibly be argued that concern with these spirits in some way conditions most aspects of Mapuche social life. However, this line of inquiry might easily bog down in a morass of circuitous evaluations and judgments, as does Durkheim's classification of phenomena into sacred and profane categories, and, in any case would not seem to result in the creation of a total impression of the relationship between Mapuche ideational and social systems. But it may be possible to discover a more fundamental principle than ancestor propitiation in Mapuche society, in which the total structure of symbolic values may be related meaningfully to the social order. This is the line of inquiry pursued here. 121 2X9 221 219

In Durkheim's treatment of the sacred and the profane, one encounters a consideration of what are clearly moral values of society. It is according to these values that the sacred and the profane categories are defined. But one is confronted with a prior reasoning and tortuous argument to the end of establishing all phenomena in categories of either sacred or profane dimensions. The pervasive notion of dualism among the Mapuche, at least at first glance, would seem to lend itself to orthodox Durkheimian classification. A sacred-profane dichotomy certainly exists in Mapuche thought; but by no means all Mapuche values, even paired as they are in sets of complementary opposition, are amenable to dichotomization in Durkheim's terms. Thus, the sacred-profane classification is not fully applicable to the Mapuche system of values or, at least, does not encompass it. This, it might be said, is well enough—consequently 121 222 221 114

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two difficulties indicating the empirical limits of analysis in the framework of a sacred-profane dichotomization of the Mapuche world view. But this actually leaves very much to be desired since the limits of analysis seem to be reached or approached at the outset.

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From a number of examples of this kind of difficulty which suggest themselves, I select the possible classification of sorcerers as sacred and ancestors as profane. With respect to the Mapuche, this classification is pointless, even if a possible interpretation according to Durkheimian logic, since both sorcerers and ancestors have a numinous quality and since even sorcerers, although clearly evil on most occasions and in most contexts, operate on the positive side of the moral universe when called upon to exact vengeance. Durkheimian thinking would probably allow such an interpretation, but the alternative route it suggests is, I feel, unattractive and dangerous. Not the least reason for this is that it would take one entirely outside the limits of Mapuche thinking or traditional reasoning, the relationship between the conceptual world and its empirical foundation becoming most tenuous. Again, with reference to the way Mapuche express themselves, sacred phenomena are good, but not all good is sacred. Sacred-profane and good-evil concepts actually cut across one another when unadulterated Durkheimian reasoning is brought to bear on them.

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The value of any concept of anthropology is measured by its usefulness in understanding and ordering social and cultural phenomena. Since these phenomena are social and cultural and do not exist in a vacuum, they must be ordered in correspondence to the manner in which they are viewed by the people themselves. This is not to say that the Mapuche need visualize a total structural order, but that their partial, piecemeal, and seemingly selective views be consistent with whatever conceptual order is imposed upon their social and cultural actions by the anthropologist. I take my cue, therefore, from the Mapuche themselves.

The interpretative difficulties of the sacred-profane approach are resolvable once it is recognized that the underlying motif of Mapuche thought is not a comprehensive good-evil or sacred-profane set of references but, rather, a dualistic world view into

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which good-evil, sacred-profane, and other subclassifications are subsumable as relative and partial expressions of the total order of society. Numerous sets of value symbols are amenable to arrangement consistent with Mapuche notions of this dualistic ordering of the universe, and, of especial interest to me, the structure of symbolic values may be related significantly to the ordering of social institutions.

The Concepts of "Handedness" and Complementary Dualism 121

The most comprehensive theoretical framework for this kind of analysis has been suggested by Robert Hertz, a student of Durkheim, and more recently has been refined and applied to great advantage by Rodney Needham in the analysis of Indonesian and African material. Hertz deals with the phenomena of complementary opposition in his essay, "The Pre-eminence of the Right Hand: A Study of Religious Polarity" (1960), and noted that in many if not all societies "honors, designations, prerogatives," were accorded to the right hand, whereas the left hand held an auxiliary if not despised position. Enlarging on this theme, Needham writes:

> The symbolic opposition of right and left and a dualistic categorization of phenomena are so common as to seem natural proclivities of the human mind. What is to be noted here is the particular way in which these notions are symbolically related to the divisions of . . . [a particular] society . . . (1960:27).

The theoretical interest which underlies this kind of analysis is phrased by Needham as follows:

> . . . to determine through a consideration of symbolic usages whether or not there are more abstract structural principles underlying both social relations . . . and other aspects of . . . culture which are not obviously connected with them (1960b).

The result may provide a "total structural analysis."

Whether it does or not would seem to depend on the type of descent system and the structural relations surrounding marriage. Needham suggests that the relationship between value system and social structure is most complete and significant in societies organized around systems of prescriptive alliance and

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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121 that "marriage preferences . . . have no structural entailments
in the total social system comparable to those of a prescriptive
system . . ." (1958:75). The Mapuche have a system of
121 strongly preferential matrilateral alliance. It is my contention
772 that the symbolic and social order of the Mapuche are related in
582 a most significant manner and that they therefore may be
viewed as representations of a single conceptual scheme—one in
which the dualism noted in the ideational construct of complementary
opposition is reflected in a dualistic ordering of social
institutions. I feel also that these notions of dualism are revealed
in the system of preferred matrilateral marriage.

If the phenomenon of complementary dualism in association
121 with a right-left polarity of symbolic values is to be used as an
182 analytic tool, it must be able to satisfy certain requirements. For
772 one thing, it must comprise a symbolic arrangement of sets of
socially significant polarities. That is, the polar opposites must
be logical constructs which together form some sort of conceptual
unit. If this much is satisfied, a cultural analysis of the
values system is possible. But more than this is needed for the
sort of interpretation attempted here. These conceptual units
must in turn have some significant relationship to the institutions
of society as conceived by the people themselves. In the
case of the Mapuche, this relationship is most clearly seen in the
area of ritual belief and action, where there exists an association
of numerous ideas and values with right and left hands which
enable a Hertzian type of analysis to be made. Handedness
serves to symbolize the polarity in thought, values, and their
social correlates. By analogic extension, however, it is discoverable
outside the immediate ritual sphere.

772 The general problem at hand is that of relating seemingly
121 disparate ethnographic data to one another so that they make
582 sense taken singly or together. Now, in Mapuche society, as in
many others, it is apparent that the system of kinship and
571 marriage largely dominates the field of social relationships,
that the nature of the marital bond, therefore, is a significant
factor in social interaction. Mapuche marry kin in a strongly
preferential system which is matrilateral and which involves sets
of relatively stable wife-giving and wife-receiving, patrilineal
[577] descent groups. It is clear that this system entails prohibitions
which constitute moral rules. There is also a *further* connection

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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between marriage-linked lineages (reservations) and ritual congregationalism which, over and above a number of obvious concordances between marriage and other social institutions, is expressive of a unified system of morality. In order to make more than a series of piecemeal functional statements of the relationship between Mapuche morality and its expression in various social institutions, an integrating concept—such as complementary dualism—is needed.

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Mapuche social relationships are in fact shot through with notions of complementary opposition. Many of these are clearly discernible, such as sacred-profane, good-evil, superior-inferior—all in association with a right-left orientation. Where the preeminence of the right hand exists as a concept of symbolic importance in society, we may expect to find notions of superior, good, health, etc. associated with the right. The logic of dualistic reasoning places complementary notions of inferior, sickness, and so on, with the left. Even in the absence of unmistakable (i.e. verbalized) association with handedness, an ordering of other values may be obtained by analogic extension with reference to right and left.

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Symbolism and Social Structure in Mapucheland

Perhaps the clearest association between phenomena which belong on the right and those which belong on the left is seen in the symbolic attachments of good and evil in the Mapuche scheme of religious morality. Some of the most obvious of these are tabulated.

TABLE I

LEFT	RIGHT
evil	good
death	life
night	day
sickness	health
wekufe	ancestral spirits
sorcerer	shaman
underworld (*reñi*)	afterworld (*wenumapu*)
kai kai	*tren tren*
poverty	abundance
hunger	fullness

772 In Araucanian, *kuk* means "hand," *wele* means "left," and
779 *man* means "right." *Welekuk* and *mankuk*, or simply *wele* and
577 *man*, with *kuk* understood, signify respectively "left hand" and
192 "right hand." There is an unmistakable and literal connection
between left and evil and right and good. For example, *piukeman* (*piuke*: heart) is an expression equivalent to *kume piuke* (*kume*: good) and means "pure in heart," "free from evil." *Wesa* (evil) and *wele* (left) are also used interchangeably. *Welenkin*, for example, refers to leftness and means a heart palpitation which forebodes evil or misfortune. Similarly, *welethargun* (left talk) means to speak evil (especially of one's self in contemplation of suicide). An "evil-headed" or "crazy" person (possessed of evil forces) is alternately called *wesa lonko* or *wele lonko*. In a small number of other words there is also this literal connection between handedness and qualities of good and evil, but permissible improvisations actually would extend the number of such expressions infinitely. For the most
772 part, however, the association is analogical in a conceptual
779 scheme in which phenomena associated with evil are linked to
577 the left half of the universe and those associated with good
linked with the right. The right hand column in Table I contains obviously good phenomena and the left their complementary opposites, as these entries are paired by the Mapuche. They constitute a partial expression of the overall dualistic order of the Mapuche universe.

There are other clear-cut right-left associations from which
77 analogies may be drawn. When, for example, ancestral spirits
787 appear as hawks of the sun, in answer to a ritual summons or in
a dream, they may make peculiarly significant gyrations to indicate the propitiousness of some act or plan or the effectiveness of ritual supplication. Whatever the motivation, if they circle to the right it is taken as a good omen, as an indication that events will go well, that prayers will be answered. If they circle to the left, prayers will not be answered, evil is foreshadowed. Some human error, some sin, is indicated—perhaps a sorcerer undiscovered at a funeral or fertility rite. If so, further propitiation is called for, the stigma of impurity or ritual imperfection lingering until a compensatory ritual is held. The Mapuche do not, however, erect insurmountable barriers to their

12: Faron E-4,5 (1952-1954) 1964
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own well-being. Bad dreams or visions of evil usually occur be- 77
fore or during, rather than after, the staging of some ceremony, 787
their mitigation providing one of the motives for holding the ceremony, or prolonging and perfecting it.

A similar association of right and left with good and evil 772
occurs when anyone is startled by a bird's song near at hand. If 787
the bird is to one's right, it signifies the presence of an ancestral spirit and presages good fortune. If on the left, it is taken to represent the embodiment of evil and presage ill. When one dreams of taking a left fork in the road instead of a right turn, this is also interpreted as an evil omen. Stories of moral import are geared to this left-right theme, insofar as persons who turn right enjoy riches, huge quantities of food served in banquet style, and general good fortune. Those who turn left suffer poverty, hunger, and general misfortune. Not until the steps are retraced (similar to the repetition of ritual prayer) and the right fork gained do persons throw off the aura of evil and come to enjoy the blessing of good fortune.

During *ngillatun* the ritual priest (*ngillatufe*) cuts off the right 772
ear of the sacrificial sheep and holds it aloft in his right hand, 765
while offering prayer to ancestors and the pantheon. The blood 772
of the sheep is placed in a special wooden bowl to the right of 796
the main altar, and its heart is held aloft in the right hand of the *ngillatufe*, who passes it to his chiefly assistants lined up along his
right, who also hold it up in their right hands. Similarly, the [788
right ear of a sheep is severed in the *konchotun* ritual, a sort 571
of blood brotherhood in which the two participants swear 608]
lifelong friendship and mutual obligation on the sheep's blood.

There seems a clear enough association between good phe- 772
nomena and the right hand, so that ancestral spirits, shamans, *tren tren*, day, and life itself may be placed on the right and, their complementary opposites, *wekufe*, sorcerers, *kai kai*, night, and the death in which forces of evil deal, on the left. There is always some association between rightness and leftness and, respectively, good and evil. By analogic extension, many other sets of symbolic values may also be ordered with reference to a right-left dichotomy.

While all the above-mentioned entities would seem to serve well as a clear-cut ordering of symbolic values associated with

12: Faron K-4,5 (1952-1954) 1964
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772 good and evil, there are other pairs of opposites which, while linked in Mapuche thinking, are not clearly good or evil, either to the Western mind or to the Mapuche themselves. Yet they are classifiable as either right- or left-hand symbols by analogy to the previous list, and by their relatively superior or inferior qualities as these are viewed by the Mapuche. Most of these entries have special significance for ritual occasions and, in this context, are commonly verbalized with regard to right-left associations.

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TABLE II

LEFT	RIGHT
west	east
north	south
winter	summer
cold	warm
moon	sun
(water)	blood
speech	ritual language
ocean	land
below	above
blue	yellow
black	white
laymen	priest
sin	expiation (ritual)
(outside)	ceremonial field

Table II concerns mostly natural elements and directions, as these are ordered into a dualistic scheme. There are earth, land, sacred soil, known and unknown land, sky, "heaven," and celestial bodies; colors. West, north, winter, cold, ocean, below, blue, sin, and outside are all in some way connected to death and, therefore, analogically related to the evil forces which cause it and the leftness which symbolizes it. East, south, summer, warm, land, above, yellow, white, expiation, altar, and ceremonial field are associated with good and the right hand. In some cases the association is direct and literal but, in all cases, these sets of opposing yet complementary values are analogically connected with right and left. Sun, blood, ritual speech, and priest are all associated positively with ancestral spirits and the

772 821 823 [775]

gods. East is the orientation for all ritual action and, ideally, the entrances to Mapuche houses should face east. West is associated with death, as is the ocean which ancestral spirits must cross before arriving safely in the afterworld. The ocean is the spirit's final barrier in its journey to *nomelafken* (*lafken*: ocean; *nome*: other side) or as it is sometimes rendered *wenumapu* (*wenu*: above; *mapu*: land). The north is the origin of cold, harsh winter rains, starvation, and general hardship. It is also the place of origin of the Inca and the Spaniards, the collective *winka*. Moon is placed in opposition to sun and in the left-hand column because of its logical connection with female powers.

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Below and above are literally inferior and superior categories which serve to qualify the characteristics of many phenomena, and they are analogically compatible with evil and good, left and right. *Minche* (below) *mapu* refers to the grave, similar to the way in which *reñu* (underworld) refers to the subterranean region inhabited by witches and all forces of evil. *Minche* connotes as well defeat in either physical or supernatural combat. *Wenu* (above) is clearly associated with sun, the haven of ancestral spirits, the domain of the gods, and so forth, and is placed on the right by analogy to good connotations. Black and blue (not always differentiated) are associated with rain and/or death. Black and dark blue banners symbolize rain in the *nillatun* rites; white banners and sky-blue banners with yellow figures symbolize sun and good weather. The funeral wake (*kurikawin*: black assemblage) and mourning in general are symbolized by black. The cold, rainy, death-bringing month of August may be called *kurikuyen* (black month or black moon). Certain relatives of the wife-giving group may be called *kurizomo* (black women).

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The following sets of complementary opposites involve for the most part categories of inferior (left) and superior (right) elements, although with respect to *winka* and incest we are again confronted with notions of evil. I have grouped the following categorical sets separately into Table III in order to present them as the final step in demonstrating that the same dualistic principle inheres in the ordering of social phenomena that has been shown to characterize the complementary opposition of

772 symbolic values. Many "problems" of interpretation are cleared 554 up or at least placed in new perspective by applying this conceptual scheme to Mapuche values and their social correlates. The left-hand column contains inferior categories relative to the right-hand column.

TABLE III

LEFT	RIGHT
woman/child	man
kona	*lonko*
junior	senior
subordinate lineage	dominant lineage
gift-receiver	gift-giver
wife-receiver	wife-giver
incest	marriage
winka	Mapuche
reservation	ritual congregation

772 562 769 There is a differential evaluation of the sexes in Mapuche society which is consistent with a left-right (woman-man) dualistic set of symbols. There are many indications of male superiority and association with the right, as well as with good and the sacred. Ancestral spirits, for example, are dealt with as though all were males (elders and chiefs: *lonko*), and these have an effective relationship with the sons of the gods. Female ancestors are soon dropped from the roster of propitiated ancestral spirits and are eventually subsumed into the general ancestral group, *kuifiche*. It is the male of the god-set who is propitiated and supplicated first; then prayers are directed to his wife, who is propitiated only once or at least much less often than her divine husband. None of this seems incongruent with a patrilineal, patrilocal, and patripotestal society.

772 562 [623] There are other indications of male dominance and a clear association between females and inferiority, if not evil. But there is a relativity of symbolism involved here which should not be overlooked. Women, for example, are barred from participation in the council of elders (males) which discusses procedural plans for ngillatun and which offers private (i.e. among themselves as representatives of their respective lineages) prayers to ancestral spirits during the preparatory phase of fertility ceremonies.

ancestral spirits during the preparatory phase of fertility ceremonies. Women are clearly associated with sorcery, and are considered the most able sorcerers by virtue of being female, and, therefore, by analogy, may be placed on the black, cold, death-ridden side of the conceptual universe. 772 562 [754]

An interesting matter of the relativity of these sets of values centers at this point. It will be remembered that "male" shamans are not considered fully masculine by the Mapuche. Some are suspected of being homosexual, all or most dress in women's clothing during their performances, others are blind, crippled, or mentally unstable. All of these characteristics are nonmasculine and, furthermore, associated with the occult part of the universe of which sorcery is a part. (But this is not to say that shamans are viewed as aligned with the forces of evil. For the Mapuche, shaman-sorcerer comprises a logical set of complementary forces symbolizing, respectively, good and evil, with right and left associations.) It is inconsistent with Mapuche thought to include males in shamanistic roles, including the *thungulmachin* whose occult powers are not wholly masculine. Therefore, male practitioners are attributed female characteristics. The shaman is not the logical opposite of the ritual priest (*ñillatufe*) in Mapuche thinking, even though shamans sometimes complement the activities of *ñillatufe* in *ñillatun*. The *ñillatufe* has a quite different relationship to the supernatural than the shaman; he does not enter the spirit world but is tied to it formally, by virtue of birth in a particular patrilineal descent group and in the line of succession of chiefs. He is, therefore, at the same time political, lineal, and spiritual leader of the dominant lineage of his natal reservation, the group which is most clearly responsible for the staging of *ñillatun*, caring for invited participants and honored guests, and bearing heaviest moral responsibility for the successful enactment of the ceremony. The shaman has a quite different role.

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The *kona-lonko* dichotomy also points up the relativity of these sets of complementary categories. *Lonko* (chiefs and other elders) are clearly in a socially superior position with respect to their male kinsmen. Formerly they exacted limited tribute and, even today, receive obligatory presents on certain ritual occasions. They are also accorded the privilege of attending work 772 622 554

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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772 parties in which they appear as titular heads, doing little or no
622 work themselves. The *lonko* who is also *ñillatufe* receives
abundant quantities of food, not as payment for his services to
554 the congregation (as is the case with the *machi*) nor as a gift,
but, rather, as his due levy—with the understanding that this
food will be distributed for ritual purposes.

772 *Kona* and *lonko* are related as junior and senior, but the
junior-senior dichotomy is expressed in a number of other ways
601 as well. The use of kinship terms expresses the superiority of the
554 senior members of society (uncles, fathers, grandfathers) to
whom respect is accorded by all others. The same kinship idiom
is extended to groups of relatives in the marriage alliance system.
Males of the wife-giving unit are called weku (maternal uncle),
which is a respectful designation, whereas males of the wife-receiving group are called *ñillan* ("the one who has purchased"),
at best a designation of inferior social status.

772 Titiev mentioned that there was a feeling of "latent hostility"
554 with respect to *ñillan*, and that this person (emphasizing the
individual) is considered as a "potential traitor" (1951:48).
602 These facts might be interpreted to greater advantage as
613 indicating that certain wife-receiving groups or segments of any
578 large wife-receiving group are placed in a relatively suspect social
position in which more than social inferiority is implied. These
are the wife-receiving groups which have not maintained sustained marriage ties in the matrilateral system, or those just
initiating such alliance, and which, because of that, might be
suspected of actually practicing homicidal sorcery. It is members
of such receiving groups who must put in an appearance at
funeral ceremonies of the lineage who formerly provided them
with wives, or else they bear the brunt of general suspicion and
possible retaliation. It is their failure to meet former obligations
of ritual participation which lays suspicion upon them, just as
the fulfillment of such obligation has the opposite effect with
respect to units which have maintained sustained and multiple
intermarriages over several generations. In their obligation to
bury in-married women in the same ground as lineal ancestors is
symbolized a dualistic separation of the two descent groups and
the commitment of the socially inferior group to sustain the
responsibility and cost which burial entails.

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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With regard to the subordinate lineage-dominant lineage set, little more need be said. The subordinate lineages are localized on the reservation by sufferance of the dominant one. Members of subordinate lineages look to the dominant one for political and ritual leadership (on well-functioning reservations) and, in any case, are forced to trace descent back to the time of the original chief in order to validate certain rights. The greater rights of the dominant lineage have worked their effect on both the size and composition of dominant and subordinate lineages throughout Mapucheland, and it will be remembered that it is from the subordinate lineages that most young people emigrate to the cities and farms of Chile and Argentina, being accorded fewer real opportunities than members of dominant lineages to gain a living on their natal reservation. In some cases, when feelings run high, members of these subordinate lineages are called by the opprobrious name winka, usually reserved for whites.
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The superiority of gift-givers to gift-receivers is not absolute, although in any particular situation gift-receivers are at least momentarily in an inferior position. With respect to ceremonies such as ngillatun and funerals, in which gift-giving is important, the persons involved alternate periodically (yearly) as giver and receiver. But the recipient at any phase of the cycle is under moral obligation to return the gift at the next juncture, placing himself in an inferior position until the completion of the next phase of the cycle, symbolizing a mutual and cyclically symmetrical obligation. Since a gift must be reciprocated, the receiver is in a position of formal obligation to the giver. When the return is made the other party becomes recipient in turn—and so on. In the awn ceremony an example of the obligations associated in gift-giving and receiving is placing gifts in the coffin (wampo), an act which expresses the obligations of the living to the dead, in return the proper treatment of which binds the departed spirit to watch over the living. And in the network of marriage alliances, an integral part is the relative, shifting inferiority-superiority of gift-receivers and gift-givers.
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As I discussed earlier, Titiev's assertion that there is equal exchange of marriage wealth (Titiev 1951:101) is wholly inconsistent with Mapuche values and their social correlates. The
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inferiority of the group who pay brideprice is symbolized in a number of ways (see Chapter One, pp. 41–45). Rather than being equal, there is a great, symbolically significant and obligatory imbalance in goods transferred at the occasion of marriage, consistent with the relative inferiority of the wife-receiving group.

It will be remembered that there is no direct exchange of women among the Mapuche lineages, the system being one of generalized exchange, strong preference accounting for the vast majority of marriages being contracted with matrilaterally linked groups. On the face of it, this is a triadic structure in which are involved one's own lineage, one's wife-giving lineage, and the wife-receiving group into which one's lineage sisters marry. This relationship is symbolized in the kinship terminology, in which wife-receivers are designated as "brother-in-law" (ñillan: the one who has purchased) and wife-givers as "maternal uncle" (weku), as I have already indicated. One's own lineage consists of brothers, fathers, etc. The terms used for one's own lineage members are potentially extensible to all Mapuche who do not fall into a marriage-linked category which, being more than a sentimental attachment to fellow Mapuche, expresses the structural boundaries of the marriage system. But the seemingly triadic structure involved in this kind of exchange system reduces to dyadic component relationships with respect to any marriage-linked units, individuals always standing in either the ñillan or the weku category, as wife-receiver and wife-giver, with respect to each other.

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Now for the problem of why the Mapuche insist that marriage with mother's brother's daughter is the ideal union, one which they say was law (admapu) a generation or so ago. As I have indicated elsewhere, genealogies do not show that marriage with real mother's brother's daughter takes place with significant frequency; that it is in fact a rare occurrence (Faron 1961a, p. [illegible]). Since all marriageable women are called by the same term, ñuke, men marry, in the absence of exact genealogical knowledge, classificatory mother's brother's daughters in a generalized system of exchange. Therefore, the anthropologist's acceptance of this statement as literal truth is wrong. But what does the Mapuche expression of this ideal marriage form mean?

In my opinion it is a cultural device for expressing a relationship 582
of great importance in the most intimate familial terms possible 613
(See Faron 1962). But this is only a partial explanation of what 182
such expression might mean to the Mapuche. A fuller explanation now suggests itself; one which relates to the notion of incest and which is understandable in terms of the dualistic ordering of the social system. It is simply that the cultural ideal of mother's brother's daughter marriage symbolizes complete observance of the matrilateral rule (*admapu*), by which marriage is not only preferred between two stable, intermarrying lineages but is prescribed between males and the groups into which their lineage sisters, daughters, and granddaughters marry. A mother's-brother's-daughter marriage is a shorthand or symbolic expression of both lineage exogamy and matrilateral preference, in complementary opposition to incest, which would result from its infraction.

I have already indicated the general sense of the concept 101
winka, a term reserved especially for non-Mapuche, although 182
sometimes used in anger or fear in relation to unrelated or (619)
out-group Mapuche. For the Mapuche, all the indigenous peoples of the world are Mapuche; all colonizers *winka*. Their questions about "Mapuche" in the United States or in other South American countries call this to the anthropologist's attention. There seems to be a clear-cut dichotomy here.

Related to the concept of outsider or stranger, however, is the 101
notion of geographical divisions in Mapucheland itself, that is, 619
among Mapuche. The word Mapuche means "people of the land," and all Indians classified as Araucanian call themselves Mapuche, standing as each does in the center of his own little world. Mapuche residing to the north are referred to as Picunche (*picun*: north), to the south, Huilliche (*huilli*: south), to the east, Puenche, and to the west, along the coast, Lafkenche (*lafken*: ocean). Some writers have taken these geographic-
directional classifications to mean that fixed political and ethnic [114]
divisions existed among the preconquest Mapuche. There seems no good evidence in the literature in support of this conclusion. Rather, these are clearly relative terms by which all Mapuche are able to orient themselves and sort out blocks of other Mapuche if necessary. Non-Mapuche are never classified

101 619 in these terms—are never called che—remaining an undifferentiated totality, winka. This, then, is the wide-angle view: there are Mapuche on the one hand and winka on the other. Within 794 613 582 the ritual congregation, however, there are other important classifications which are made: one's lineage mates, one's

DIAGRAM V. Scheme of Structural Categories in Mapucheland

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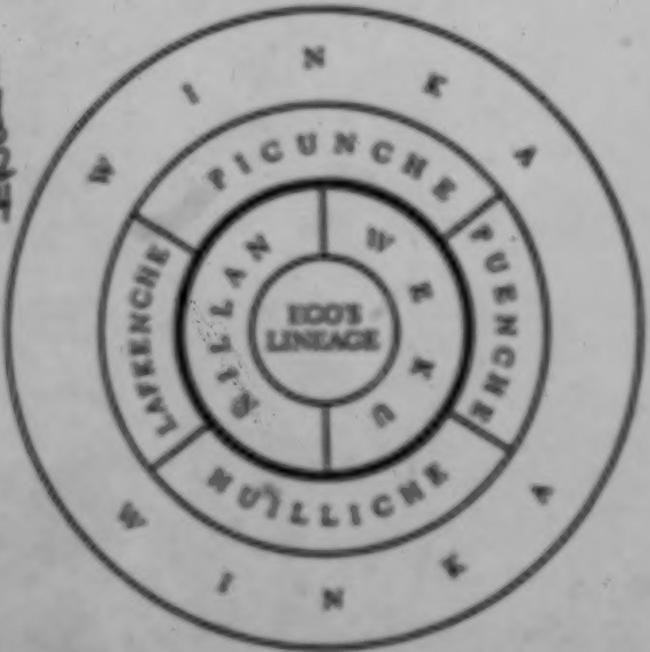

794 613 582 wife-receivers (ñillan), and one's wife-givers (weku). Diagram V depicts this conceptualization of structural categories in Mapucheland.

For the purpose of micro-geographical orientation, the 101 103 Mapuche use place names. These are of three sorts: (1) regional, (2) conventional, (3) intraconventional. A regional name is usually taken from its most outstanding physical character-

12: Faron E-4,5 (1952-1954) 1964
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teristic—a huge, solitary tree, a swampy area, a rocky prominence, a curious bend in the river. Regions always contain many reservations, but the regional rather than the reservational names are used for purposes of general identification. When great specificity is called for, intrareservational names tend to be used. These, again, are place names taken from a somewhat peculiar contour of the land, a stream, a rock, or a clump of trees, and are usually the names of residential sites for closely related lineages. Reservation names (usually the name of the original chief and, therefore, of the dominant lineage in residence) are reserved for use in Chilean courts and agencies or in stores, for the purpose of legal identification. They are not in general use among the Mapuche themselves, and we are told that Chileans in general are unaware of these traditional designations. In view of all this, I would say that the Chilean and Mapuche worlds stand in complementary opposition. 101 103 [213]

The correspondence between region and ritual congregation is great, if not always complete. The reservations are alien political and economic constructs of Chilean derivation. The region is the seat of ritual responsibility, the locus in which matrilateral marriage alliances form their tightest web for any individual or group, the stage on which the drama of life and death is enacted. The region or ritual congregation has moral unity, offers protection against the most malevolent forces of evil, is the center of ritual sacrifice to the hawks of the sun. It is the center of the Mapuche world. Its dimensions are unknown to the outsider; it is apart and sacred to its membership. It assures the continuity of Mapuche morality. 181 182 774 [248]

Seven CONSTANCY AND CHANGE IN RITUAL AND BELIEF

THROUGHOUT this book I have maintained the view that religious belief and action comprise a unitary system separable only in the interest of sociological analysis, a commonplace classroom dictum. But I hope to have gone beyond the mere assertion that ideas and behavior have some relationship to each other, and I have tried to show specifically that in Mapuche society there is a complementarity of sets of symbolic values and sets of related segments of the social system, a complementarity between the ideological system and the structure of social action. The relatedness of belief and action makes for a continuing balance among the several segments of the total social structure, and perpetuates the value of Mapuche society and their expression.

The social and cultural environments of the Mapuche have indeed changed significantly since pacification and the establishment of the reservation system. New relationships with Chileans and the restrictions on land—essentially external changes—have resulted in internal cultural and social modifications among the Mapuche which, elected as adaptive responses to colonialism, have on the whole been successful. And these internal, adaptive modifications are of the sort consistent with or in adherence to traditional structures of Mapuche society and cultural values. It is in this sense, therefore, that I speak of constancy and yet consider change. There has been no radical change in belief or action during the last half century, that is, after the initial accommodation to reservation life had been effected.

In considering the problem of social and cultural change, the simple enumeration of substitutions, disappearances, and additions, and a partial interpretative evaluation of their importance are relatively meaningless outside the context of a structural-functional analysis. Statements or attributions to the effect that "education," "Christianity," "money economy," and all sorts of other things, national, and processes are working their effect on the Mapuche way of life are either too vague to be the distillation of field research or are difficult to evaluate insofar as they are made without reference to a total structural context which serves to control judgment.

I am not committed to equilibrium, yet I view Mapuche society as having experienced a state of relative equilibrium for at least the last fifty years. This is not a static conceptualization of society. A society by definition constitutes a set of systems in dynamic relationship of an institutionalized nature. Rather this is a limiting statement with respect to massive random variations of activity and belief, and it by no means denies change or fails to evaluate it.

Mapuche cultural and social equilibrium is relative to the on-going reservation system. The ecological adjustments this system implies are precisely that involvement which serves to stabilize or regularize social relationships. Contacts with Chileans do not by any means always disturb these relationships and the social relationships are shored up by the ideological system which sanctions institutionalized behavior. This kind of reasoning will be recognized immediately as that peculiar circular society for which social anthropology is sometimes chided. I do not deny it has shortcomings. However, the mutually supportive relationships of social institutions and cultural values may certainly be interpreted to considerable advantage in this way. This circle of relationship may be broken, but without a conceptualization of a total social and cultural system, who is to say where, when, how, or even if, a break takes place? Some of the reported indications of breakdown and transition among the Mapuche are amenable to quite different interpretation when a total structural analysis has been made. And this, unfortunately, is an area of inquiry which is frequently slighted by anthropologists who have been concerned with reconstructing Mapuche history and comparing the nebulous past with an [illegible] impression of the present in a manner which purports to adumbrate the future.

I find that alternative ways of life have been consistently rejected by the Mapuche, to the extent that these alternatives have been in conflict with the traditional system of belief and

121 177 178 action. In considering what kinds of modifications have taken place among the Mapuche I wish mainly to inject a trace of complexity into a subject matter which is too often handled along deceivingly simple lines. I am suspicious of the signposts of transition or breakdown pointed out along the routes my predecessors have followed. When making learned guesses about the future of Mapuche society it is well to remember that the doom forecast by Latcham and Guevara around the turn of the century was simply reiterated, perhaps with a greater sense of urgency, by McBride in the 1930's and reiterated by Titiev in the 1950's. One is jarred by the fact that the Mapuche continue to exist as a vigorous social and cultural entity, that they have long ceased abandoning their reservation communities, that they have become more active in national political life in defense of their traditional life, and that their unifying system of religious morality continues to throw up concerted resistance to social and cultural change.

[648] Changes which are of greatest significance for an understanding of Mapuche society and culture are those which have resulted from a society-wide accommodation to Chilean colonization of the frontier region and the restrictions of the reservation policy of the Chilean government. It would seem that differential criteria are needed in order to discuss these changes, to classify them, and to evaluate their relative significance. In two rather recent studies of Mapuche society and culture (Titiev, 1951; Hilger, 1957), this has not been done with much regard to detail, possibly because of the great complexity of Mapuche-Chilean-Western relationships.[1] Nor shall I attempt it here. I beg off on grounds that this is not my especial interest and that those with acculturational interests might well shoulder the burden; and that much of this sort of inquiry is speculatively futile. But there are a few obvious ways in which the relative influences of different factors of change (e.g. the dissemination of plow agriculture, the diffusion of the Spanish language, the restriction of resources under the reservation system) and their processes (i.e. simply the course of change itself, with respect to

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[1] Titiev notes differential influences on Mapuche culture but makes no systematic use of this conceptual tool.

this instance to belief and associated action) may be studied, 121
and, given a greater commitment to this interest, a number of 122
rather precise ways of measuring could be applied. 178

In a preliminary way, I would suggest that an analytic distinction be made between cultural (for present purposes, mainly ideological) changes and social (i.e. institutionalized action) changes, and that there might also be a need, on occasion, to distinguish between structural and organizational aspects of constancy and change. Among other advantages, such distinctions would enable the observer, not to mention the reader, to evaluate the relation between culture and society, which would be an improvement over the notion that society is a part of culture and that social phenomena are adequately treated as cultural traits.

Another basic distinction should be made between changes of radical departure from Mapuche tradition and those consistent with the limiting framework of Mapuche institutions and values. This distinction would seem helpful in the clarification of concepts such as "breakdown" and "transition." I am convinced that such distinctions are possible or may be made most fruitfully only following a structural-functional analysis of society and a systematic consideration of cultural values.

II

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Religious belief and ritual seem prone to change in a manner 178
consistent with other changes in social structure. This says nothing about the rate of change with respect to either belief or action, but it pays more than lip service to their functional relationship.

Mapuche society has certainly undergone substantial change 122
if one compares the warring era to the reservation period. 178
Peaceful conditions were established after the rebellion of 648
1880-82, and the reservation system went into effect after 1884.
It might be said that field agriculture replaced warfare as the [241
main occupation of men and, as a result of various circumstances 726]
(by no means a direct result of a commitment to agriculture), the Mapuche find themselves on the fringe of a regional market-oriented economy.

The elementary-family household is emerging or has already 000

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family household is emerging or has already emerged as the basic unit of cooperative endeavor in the cultivation of marketable crops. Localizing an expanding population on small multilineage reservations, in an area considerably reduced from prereservation days, saw the rise of significant corporate patrilineal descent groups and the development of a matrilateral marriage system which depends on the stability of relationships between wife-giving and wife-receiving units. But to say simply that "the family" has become more important in Mapuche society and then make a partial functional analysis to the effect that this correlates with market orientation would be to conceal the greater interpretative error, especially in the absence of an analysis of patrilineality as a basic integrative force or principle in the society. Likewise, to say that chieftainship has declined in importance, without amply qualifying this statement, would be a disservice to the reader interested in cultural change and breakdown. The chief's authority in certain economic and political areas declined after the first generation or so of reservation living and colonial rule. But his position as lineage elder and ritual leader has become incommensurably enhanced, and after his death he is perpetuated by a much larger body of kinsmen and nonrelatives than during any time in the past. His political and economic leadership, though changed, has also become enhanced, insofar as it is now geared to a much more complex situation.

Changes have taken place in the staging, organization, and social function of nillatun and awn to the extent that these assemblages are larger, more stable, and, with regard to the lineage membership of the participants, more heterogeneous than anything described during the prereservation era. There is today a geographical and social definition of the ritual congregation which correlates with the distribution of sets of wife-givers and wife-receivers within it—a remarkable concordance of elements of the structure of religious morality. The organization of ritual activity has changed in relation to other social changes which hinge on the establishment of the reservation system. The starting mechanism for these changes was activated in the last century. Since then there has been a major reintegration in adjustment to this major impulse from colonial society, or as a result of colonial restrictions on Mapuche institutions. These are social changes resulting from external forces, and their cultural content is belied.

social changes resulting from external forces, and their cultural construct in belief. 000

What about religious belief—has it changed commensurate to ritual action, as ritual seems to have altered in relation to changes in other areas of social structure (e.g., regrouping and localization of population)? There are several ways of looking at this question. First of all, I feel that while social changes have been substantial, they have taken place within the traditional framework of Mapuche society and are, therefore, not radical departures from patri-organization, marriage preference, ancestral propitiation, etc., which have been recorded since before the reservation system went into effect. If nothing else, this means that major changes have not been transitional, i.e. have not been operating to fashion Mapuche society or culture in some sort of Chilean likeness. And, since greater rather than less social complexity has resulted from these modifications, it does not seem proper to view Mapuche society as "breaking down." I think, therefore, that more attention should be paid to the phenomena which make for constancy, the counterforces to change which condition its rate and direction. The attention given to constancy is usually subordinated within a discussion of the force (or weight) of tradition, and sometimes in so few words. In evaluating the force of tradition, systems analysis should be undertaken, and I think that a good place to begin such inquiry is in the general area of religious belief and action, the system of religious morality. Without a structural-functional orientation any discussion of culture change would necessarily involve much undesirable guesswork and reliance on a "common-sense" reconstruction of odd bits of fact and fancy. It is this lack of total analysis which renders ineffectual much of Titiev's concluding chapter, "The Changing Pattern of Culture" ([illegible]).*

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Radcliffe-Brown suggested that ritual beliefs would tend to change more quickly than ritual activities. I do not feel that [778]

*It is difficult to reconcile Titiev's avowed commitment to functional analysis with statements such as, "Religious functions, too, have passed out of the hands of the chiefs" ([illegible]) and, with respect to the central feature of Mapuche morality, ancestor propitiation, ". . . no systematic rites of propitiation are carried out" ([illegible]).

778 Mapuche evidence bears this out. Nor do I feel that this is a
121 fair statement, or at least a useful one, of the problem of ritual
771 constancy and change, unless the specific factors of change are
778 considered in some detail. If we look to missionary influence,
the farthest outpost of directed culture change, we find that the
177 dissemination of Christian belief and action has been in rather
178 sterile ground. All Mapuche ethnologists would agree to this, as
121 would most missionaries working in Mapucheland, including
771 those who are not averse to accepting formal conversion as an
indication of eventual spiritual conversion. There has been, in
797 effect, no transition from traditional religious institutions to the
778 Christian systems of belief and ritual action. Had there been, I feel that we might be able to show that ritual action on the reservations had changed more slowly than belief (bearing out Radcliffe-Brown's hypothesis), and that, as with the more "acculturated" Mapuche individuals, people would continue to participate in traditional rites with less and less enthusiasm or conviction, until the rites themselves were no longer performed. But this has not happened. There continues to be a coherency between belief and ritual on the reservations. Where there is such coherency, regardless of possible departures from tradition (largely a matter for historical inquiry), it is relatively meaningless to speak of a set of physical activities changing at a slower rate than a set of mental activities on which they are presumably based. When a new system is introduced, say Christianity, and effectively replaces an old system, then belief and action might change simultaneously, *if* the action becomes reinterpreted in the new ideological framework. This is rather different, though, from change within any established set of beliefs and actions, and involves the substitution of one set of values for another. This substitution of set for set I would consider an example of radical change.

121 Idea systems are conventionally discussed, insofar as they are discussed at all, under the rubric of culture. Action systems are taken to constitute society. Neither is separable from the other, except for the purpose of analysis (for which I feel the separation is absolutely necessary), since culture and society are simply two different abstractions from what social scientists consider reality—human behavior. Now, Mapuche ritual values,

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Now, Mapuche ritual values, if one may judge from descriptions in the literature and from definitions in lexicons, have remained relatively unchanged over the years since the establishment of the reservation system, if not for centuries. What then of ritual activity? Simply this, that among the observable changes in ritual action already described, there has been a constancy of the sort I have discussed. Constancy, as I understand it, implies adherence to the thread of Mapuche tradition, expressed both in belief and institutionalized action, a concordance between present-day beliefs and activities and those, for example, described by Latcham, Guevara, and others around the turn of the century. I regard this adherence to tradition as constancy because, (1) changes which have occurred represent no significant departure from *admapu* (customary law), and (2) the time depth since the establishment of reservations is sufficient to make judgments about the net effect of infra-structural modifications on continuing social behavior. These are admittedly gross criteria, but they at least establish the grounds for phrasing and testing hypotheses and have relevancy to the material presented in this book.

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The vignettes of Mapuche life presented in this study were selected often as contrasts to average, expectable behavior, as exceptions which bring the rules of social action into sharper relief, and were not offered as examples of general accommodation to reservation life. The stories about incest, about dealing with *witranalwe*, about male shamans, and so forth, were intended to underscore the rules of Mapuche society and normal activities, insofar as they represented breaches and uncommon behavior. There would be no need to mention this if it were not for the fact that others before me had cited exceptional behavior, or had generalized individual affective states and responses, in a manner which implied that these aberrancies would serve to indicate and illuminate trends or patterns and so forth. It is of no special importance to the structure of Mapuche society that some men might well prefer to go to town, get drunk, visit a brothel, and do any number of other acts than take part in *ñillatun* or *awn*. It is of no importance at all unless of statistically significant frequency, analyzable as a pattern variable or some such concept. What is of major importance is that the vast majority of Mapuche do

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178 undertake responsible participation in traditional ceremonies
183 and that they look forward to participating. It is said that nobody
78 goes to town when *ñillatun* or *awn* are held within congregational boundaries.

This, again, is admittedly a gross measure, but it seems suffi-
121 cient for system analysis in a relatively homogeneous society.
178 But it is a tool too dull for the analysis of, say, the subtle
183 psychological currents which might occur in an individual on
78 such occasions. This matter cannot be discussed with authority,
however, by any one who is not a trained psychologist and who is not thoroughly familiar with Mapuche society and culture as a total system impinging on the individual. With respect to the Mapuche, how do we know when enough individual responses reflect a cumulative departure from traditional beliefs and practices, when divergence began to be felt in the Mapuche breast, and, therefore, whether a number of similar affective states represent "change" or not, or change of what sort?

771 Let me give an example of this kind of difficulty. A "growing
184 indifference" to traditional rituals has been noted among the
178 Mapuche by anthropologists, missionaries, and lay persons.
793 Ritual responsibilities are said to rest more and more with the
756 shaman or the ritual priest. This judgment is made with respect
to younger Mapuche, especially the men, about whom it is also said that there is a strong resistance to Christianity. My early impressions, colored by statements of this sort which I had read and heard, were that the younger generation was in a sort of spiritual limbo. But I have since come to favor another interpretation of this phenomenon, one which is entirely consistent with the Mapuche way of life. This is simply that young and even many middle-aged Mapuche are expected to allow the major ritual responsibilities to rest with the *ñillatufe* and/or the
[885] *machi*. This is the system, and it ties in with the notion that a
man is not mature until married and forty-ish, after which time he begins to assume ritual responsibility. It is not until one matures that one is permitted to undertake grave ritual responsi-
771 bility. Youthful "indifference" is not indifference at all, and in
184 any case does not imply change, transition, or breakdown.
178 Rather, this condition is entirely consistent with the rules and
dominant motifs of Mapuche culture and society. To under-

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stand Mapuche responses to ritual—sociologically or psychologically conceived—one must understand the ancestor-based structure of morality. Without the overall view that system analysis affords, it is easy to misinterpret a traditional, age-based role of marginal or limited participation in ritual activities as one of "growing indifference." And in line with this, to deny the systematic propitiation of ancestral spirits, as Titiev does, would seem to indicate a grave misunderstanding of Mapuche society and culture, in transition or otherwise.

167 178 177 [161]

Let us take another tack in approaching the matter of constancy and change. Given the agricultural technology of the Mapuche, they are faced with a problem of overpopulation. One accommodation to this problem is the removal of excess population by the annual migration of substantial (unrecorded) numbers of young people to the cities and towns and farms of Chile and Argentina. Most of these migrants never resettle on the reservations from which they came. What about them? How might the existence of this diaspora influence the judgment of the anthropologist? Titiev touches on this matter in terms of cultural values, but his remarks seem directed especially to those Mapuche remaining on the reservations. He writes:

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> Much of the sense of futility arises from one of the most far-reaching of all aspects of culture change, the loss of one scheme of values and the slowness or failure to develop a new one. . . . At present the old incentives and rewards [warfare honors, polygynous status, and other phenomena associated with pre-reservation days] for masculine ambition are gone, and no new mechanisms for achieving and exhibiting high status have been devised to take their place. No honors are to be won by diligent farming, and to be thrifty and to make or save money likewise arouse little interest, except among those who are willing to imitate and compete with Chileans (1951:144).

Leaving aside the judgments about psychological orientations in the warring era, which almost defy verification, much of this observation would seem applicable to the Mapuche individuals who have already left the reservations. No longer part of reservation life, they are nevertheless not readily accepted into Chilean society, except on a level of employment and social status which is general unsatisfactory. They are in something of

167 a cultural and social limbo, and express feelings of futility. In
178 their case, one might say that there has been a loss of traditional
177 values, at least uncertainty about them, and a lack of comprehension of the new schemes which Chilean society grudgingly offers. For them, change has been radical.

008 But what about the estimated 200,000 or so reservation-dwelling Mapuche? Is Titiev's a fair interpretation of how they feel and how they felt and of the emotional course they have run during several generations of reservation life? Did this supposed sense of futility begin with final military defeat, or did it result in defeat? Did it manifest itself in the first generation after defeat, or is it a more recent phenomenon? How much spadework must be done before we can expect answers to questions like these? And how much needed information is actually undiscoverable? To build a judgment about "culture change" on this sort of speculation, especially with its predictive overtones, is most unsound.

19 What have the Mapuche been doing since 1884? I suggest
177 that we may well be content with the simple observation that
178 they have been rebuilding their society. One of the "honors" accruing to contemporary Mapuche farmers is a full belly; thrift, up to a point, means a small amount of cash on hand with which to buy necessities and a few luxuries. Under these conditions must we expect the Mapuche to imitate Chileans? Is this a measure of their happiness or despair? In what sense do Mapuche compete with Chileans? What, indeed, does competition mean to a Mapuche farmer? If imitation and competition are to serve as guides to understanding Mapuche society, we are at least obliged to justify this expectation, and to show that we are not injecting values of our own (or those transplanted by Chileans) into our judgment of the state of affairs in Mapucheland. Why should the Mapuche save money and why should they be interested in thrift, and what does it mean if they are not? To my mind, their indifference to these things indicates an absence of a Western rationale of economic values, the opposite of "breakdown," "transition," or even "futility." The Mapuche are interested in making certain limited changes in the material features of their life, which their poverty and reservation status inhibit. On balance, though, a Mapuche wants to live the Mapuche way of life, within the limiting and comforting

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framework of traditional values and institutions, and wants to 181
change at his own pace—and mainly with respect to the 177
acquisition of consumer goods. Whatever the cumulative effect 178
of this attitude might be on Mapuche social structure and
cultural values, it is yet to be observed.

That religion is one of the forces most suited to mold the 791
world view of individuals is recognized both by the Mapuche 178
and by Chilean missionaries. The failure of the Christian ideal 177
to take hold among the Mapuche is testimony to the successful 797
integration of Mapuche society and its system of values, for
religion provides the framework in which the general inculcation
of traditional values, attitudes, and procedures is accomplished.
Four hundred years of missionary work, economic imperialism,
and even ultimate military defeat have failed to crack the hard
shell of Mapuche religious morality. The Araucanian language, 197
in which these values are expressed (and which for this reason is 192
banned in the reservation schools), is still the language of the 178
home. Even Chilean merchants have learned to figure accounts [439]
in Araucanian, and they inject Araucanian words into their sales
talk. All preschool age Mapuche and most adult women are [191]
essentially monolingual in Araucanian, the language of thought
for almost every Mapuche. Children are jokingly called "old
people" because they know little or no Spanish. And during and
after the few years of formal reservation school, youngsters are
reeducated at home. There is a general rejection of Chilean 177
values and procedures, patent in an undercurrent of constant 178
ridicule and in a strong feeling of pan-Mapuche, ethnic solidar- 186
ity, vis-à-vis Chilean society. Even in the sphere of economic
activity, some of the traditional ceremonial aspects of economic
life persist. Mapuche ritual appears both as an expression of this [78]
social and ethnic solidarity and as its single most stabilizing and
integrating force.

III

Religious beliefs centering in ancestral propitiation largely 577
define normative behavior and constitute therefore moral rules 128
of Mapuche society. It might be said that a function of ritual 771
belief is the establishment of limits to possible variation in social
action. Where beliefs persist or change in a manner consistent
with traditional values, the social institutions which reflect these
beliefs accordingly persist or change consistent with traditional structures.

000 beliefs accordingly persist or change consistent with traditional structures.

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The negligible influence of Christianity (including the secular educational by-products of reservation elementary schools) means no less than that the structure of Mapuche values has remained relatively intact over a long period. The clear corollary of this is that Mapuche social institutions have been, since the major accommodation to reservation living, in a state of relative equilibrium. This, after all, is implicit in the concept of "system." But it is also a dynamic concept which does not deny change or discount it. In the case of the Mapuche, social dynamics have not been characterized by random selection of alternative beliefs and contingent activities. There has been a processual consistency with respect to traditional beliefs and action. This temporal continuity of structure is, of course, what has served to distinguish Mapuche from Chilean society. It is most apparent, because most dramatic, in the area of ritual, but it ramifies throughout the total ideological and social structure.
000 Until the ideological orientation of the Mapuche undergoes radical change, we might expect that Mapuche society will remain relatively stable. Should the social and natural environment change radically (e.g. as a result of disbanding the reservations under Chilean political pressure) we need not necessarily expect Mapuche society to crumble. What accommodations would be made in the event of radical external changes would of course depend on the amount of pressure exerted by the Chilean government. This is a purely empirical matter. What is known of Mapuche émigrées (living in cities, on farms, both in Chile and Argentina) and of those Mapuche continuing to live on what used to be reservation land (since divided into severalties) provides only a dim and partial view of what the future might hold. After all, approximately a quarter of a million people are involved. If the Mapuche are allowed to "determine" their own course, it is expectable that the route they choose will be rather different from that planned for them by the Chilean government. Whatever the institutional accommodation, it will of necessity be complex. And unless one is satisfied with making almost meaninglessly superficial predictions, the outcome is unknowable at the level of inquiry attempted in this book.

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APPENDIX

RATHER than discuss the position of various well-known Mapuche specialists in the text of this book, I append what I consider some of their more important statements on the matter of morality. On the whole, these tend to support my thesis, and I shall hold my comments to a minimum. 114

Of Mapuche morality, Guevara (1908) writes:

> Este conjunto de reglas de tradición, consideran como los principales deberes el respeto al padre, a los antepasados i al rito. . . . *La entidad moral reside . . . en la familia* . . . (225).

Here we have an indication of the religious sphere of social action, although Guevara never clearly recognized Mapuche magic as religion. This is indicated in his following remark,

> Para ponerse en comunicación con los espíritus benefactores i neutralizar la acción de los malos . . . ha necesitado pormenores litúrjicos. . . . Ha necesitado además, a gentes iniciadas que pongan en practica los ritos clasificados según el objeto. *Tales operaciones i operadores forman los elementos de la majia araucana* (231; italics added).

Guevara's measure of morality was not hampered by a Christian bias, but his "failure" to recognize the religiosity of Mapuche magic seems a result of his having regarded paganism as an evolutionary notch below true religion. At any rate, Guevara does not seem to have been concerned with the problem, of magic versus religion or with considerations of sacred-profane categories, although as a result of his wide reading he was surely aware that these were theoretical problems.

Latcham's work (1924) is cluttered with speculations about what he called "totemism," a topic further bogged down in an argument that matrilineality preceded patrilineality among the Mapuche. Despite this penchant for reconstructing Mapuche history, Latcham managed to present many data in a structural manner and dealt with the relationships of ancestor propitiation,

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114 public ritual, and the moral order. Latcham's totemic clans seem to have been localized patrilineages which formed part of incipient ritual congregations. Latcham's description of the beginnings of the reintegration of Mapuche society is a stimulating one, as contrasted to his speculations about its origins in the pre-Spanish era.

In the work of *Augustin Edwards* (1909) we find an evaluation of statements of many of his predecessors and a synthetic contribution of his own, much of which is of high quality. I would like to discuss a few points, however, with which I am in disagreement. What I consider to be a glaring misinterpretation is his remark: "In the minds of the Mapuche, morality and religion are two essentially different things" (26). Edwards supported this conclusion with a quotation from Guevara which maintains that in their invocations the Mapuche merely ask for favors and do not attempt to make amends for their faults (26). The standard Edwards applies appears to be that of Christian religious morality, as evidenced by his contention that "Mapuche morality does not make a distinction between good and evil in the same form as Christian morality does. For the Mapuche, that which conforms to his traditions and superstitions is good and that which is not in consonance with them is bad" (29). The second sentence might be generalized to include all systems of religious morality. In any case, I take it as supporting evidence of my thesis.

In writing of ancestor propitiation and sorcery, Edwards, to my mind, provides data and conclusions which contradict the statements of his I have just cited. As far as it goes, his treatment of sorcery is excellent. He writes in part:

> In the matter of enchantments and sorcery the Mapuche of the present day are no different from those of the time of the discovery and conquest of Chile. This is undoubtedly their most deeply rooted and ancient belief and the most profound and pronounced trait of the Mapuche character . . ." (28).

While this statement is subject to certain qualifications a half-century after Edwards wrote, it is still essentially applicable to contemporary Mapuche society and indicates the persistence of the Mapuche moral system. Edwards goes on to say:

> . . . there are things which are traditionally forbidden. . . . And the doing of forbidden things entails fatal consequences. That is the moral restraint *par excellence* (28).

And in continuation:

> . . . all that disciplines their instincts and keeps their behavior within certain limits of reciprocal justice and equity is their veneration for their ancestors and their traditions and their fear of vengeance, which constituted and still constitutes the punitive right in force among the Mapuches that have not become civilized (29).

Edwards also notes that vengeance was a responsibility of the injured person's family and was "carried out from group to group" (29). Finally, he writes that:

> *Evil is brought about by the act of enchantment or witchcraft and punishment is inflicted by the retaliation. This was, and still is, the essence of moral law among the Mapuche who have not modified their ideas and customs* (29).

While I am not in complete agreement with this judgment, for it omits other moral considerations, it is a fair enough appraisal of an important segment of the moral system. I would like to note, however, that this and other of Edwards' remarks do not wholly support his contention that "Sorcery or witchcraft was the very essence of immorality" (28). While this might be said of those actions of the sorcerer taken solely for her private gain, I pose this question with reference to such and the Mapuche: "If sorcery is undertaken for vengeance, and if vengeance is a morally accepted practice, is sorcery, in this instance, evil?" There are some interesting implications in this matter with regard to, among other things, the definition of shaman and sorcerer, the line between good and evil magic, the function of sorcery and the existence of evil in the integration of Mapuche society.

Titiev (1951), in an otherwise highly descriptive account of Mapuche ritual and similarities and differences between shamans and sorcerers, comes to this important conclusion:

> Apparently, the Araucanians believe in a sort of dualism in which good powers that sustain society oppose evil forces that disrupt the social order (114).

114 It is clear that Titiev, although often only implicitly, relates morality and ritual expression among the Mapuche. This, unfortunately, is not done systematically or in any detail. Nor does one find in the works of Titiev and Hilger (1957) indications of an interest in understanding the social relationships which form the structure of religious morality. Both of these authors handle the spheres of magic and religion as distinct, although overlapping, areas of ritual.

None of the authors cited above may be said to be wholly aligned with the point of view of Herskovits' statement quoted in the Introduction. That is to say, none of these ethnologists appears to have felt obliged to argue that it is difficult to consider religion and morality as social institutions, although some of them made no effort to analyze religion sociologically and did not really concern themselves with the Mapuche system of morality.

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Hawks of the Sun

ERRATA

Page 136, line 2 down: for *Diagram II* read *Diagram III*

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read *Diagrams III and IV*

admapu -- customary law
am -- the soul
antüpaiñamko -- "hawks of the sun," a term used to symbolize all ancestoral spirits
awn -- the funeral ceremony
eltun -- cemetery
huampu -- coffin
kalku -- sorcerer-witches
kalkutun -- the ceremony performed to detect witches
kamañ -- officials at the Ñillatun ceremony
kapuka -- the god and goddess of abundance
konchotun -- a formal and public demonstration of special friendship, involving the sacrifice of a lamb; a loose-binding blood pact
kurikawin -- the funeral wake
lakutun -- the naming rite
l'ayen -- a term used to refer to a corpse while it is indoors
llani -- the secondary altar in the Ñillatun ceremony
llupe -- the ritual fire
lofche -- an extended family group
lonko -- lineage head and chief (political leader of unrelated lineages)

machi -- shamans (female)
machitun -- an elaborate curing ceremony
mafutun -- a ceremony connected with the distribution of bride price
minchemapu -- grave (infrequently used term)
mingaco -- a cooperative labor venture
misha -- the ritual sharing of food from a single bowl, symbolizing that the individuals so related are innocent of desiring to harm one another
moñetun -- see kurikawin
Ñenechen -- the Supreme Being for most Mapuche
ñillatufe -- the ritual priest
Ñillatun -- the great agricultural fertility ceremony
pillan -- the spirit helpers of the shaman
pillantun -- see machitun
purun -- a type of dance
ramadas -- cubicles made of boughs which serve as shelters for the assembled families and guests at the Ñillatun celebration (Spanish term)
reñu -- the witch's cave
rewe -- a step-notched carved pole outside the shaman's house which the machi climbs during certain ceremonies
rokiñ -- placing of gifts in a coffin

thungulmachin -- an aide to the shaman who relates to her those things that she has spoken of while possessed by a spirit
trafkin -- the ritual exchange of gifts between two persons indicating that the individuals involved intend no harm to one another
ülmen -- wealthy men
wekufe -- evil spirits
wesa -- evil
weupin -- formal orations, as at a funeral
winka -- outsider